

MUSLIM MONTHS.

Muharram	I.	1021	1021
Safar	II.	1022	1022
Rabi' I	III.	1023	1023

THE RISE of the IMAMS of SANAA.

Jumada I	V.	1025	1025
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Jumada II	VI.	1026	1026
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THESIS presented to the UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

by

A. S. TRITTON

for

the Degree of Doctor of Letters.

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1918.



MOSLEM MONTHS.

Muharram	I	Rajab	VII
Safar	II.	Sha'ban	VIII
Rabi' i	III.	Ramadan	IX.
Rabi' ii	IV.	Shawwal	X.
Jumada i	V.	Dhu 'l Qa'da	XI.
Jumada ii	VI.	Dhu'l Hijja	XII.

THE PASHAS.

Hassan	988	
Sinan	II.	1013
Ja'far	IV.	1016
Ibrahim		1022
Muhammad	VIII.	1025
Ahmed Fadli	III.	1031
Haidar	II.	1034 1033 W.
Aidin		1037
Ahmed Qansuh	IV.	1039.

THE AUTHOR.

The writer of this history tells us very little about himself. He was clearly a devoted adherent of the Imam and in a position to get first hand information. On one occasion he acted as secretary and it is a fair guess that that was his usual office. In the early days of the rising he was one of some six men who accompanied the Imam on his visit to the chief of Sanhân to decide on united action. As an educated Arab he was of course a poet but he only quotes one line of his own:-

To him who tells of what befell in Muda and Thula
I say, This was not the deed of man.

There is a difference between the earlier and latter parts of the story. In the first dates are rare and no authorities are quoted. The man is obviously writing from memory; the Arabs were hunted from place to place and there were no records. As success came, records were preserved, the generals sent in reports from all quarters and dates and documents abound. Doubts are readily recorded. If the historian is uncertain he says so, and many incidents are closed with the words: God knows best; evidently more than a pious formula. Such phrases as - One whom/

whom I trust: A trustworthy source, abound. It is carefully stated that one who was present at a battle or consultation told the story which is retailed. On the whole the writer is a healthy sceptic, and is not ashamed of human weakness; a battle should have been reported earlier, but he forgot.

A strong theological odour pervades the whole book. The followers of the Imam are the soldiers of the truth, the Turks the armies of evil. Some of the Arabs are half hearted in their allegiance or altogether hostile because they love this world and its passing delights. The discovery of a bag of powder and the sinking of a ship load of Turkish soldiers are divine blessings on the people of god. Indeed the standpoint is that of the Book of Kings. Yet the outlook is that of an educated man. He is keenly interested in events in Egypt and Persia, the arrival of an English ship in Aden, letters from chiefs in Oman and el Hassa and especially the strife between the Turks and the Sherif in Mecca. His book was a long time in writing. Several times he uses such phrases as "at the time of writing these lines". These occur in the years 1028 and 1030 yet the whole was revised later and the after history of individuals was filled in.

He/

He is first a historian of war. He gives curious side lights on the life of the people but as a rule the years of peace are blank. He is an analyst rather than a historian and it is not always easy to trace the ebb and flow of the Arab rise to power. He is often conventional, particularly in his summaries of character, yet there is generally some striking phrase or original trait to redeem the commonplaces.

all Yemen except Sana'a. Two years later Sana'a was forced to submit and retire to Sana'a which received a Turkish garrison and paid tribute while his nephew Muhammad ibn Shamsuddin became prince of Zabid. In 950 Mutahhar died. In 986 the Imam Hasan ibn Ali al-Mu'ayyid raised a rebellion in Aden where he held out for seven years. Two years later the sons of Mutahhar took advantage of a change of governor to start another rebellion which had a brief success. The Imam Hasan and the sons of Mutahhar were sent to prison at Constantinople; Abdullah ibn Mu'ayyid was named over Sana'a and was recognized as governor thereof and Abdurrahman ibn Mutahhar became chief of Hajja.

Immediately afterwards Abdullah ibn Ali ibn Hussein ibn Asidin Hasan the Imam proclaimed himself

THE/

THE BEGINNINGS. 1 NORTH.

Since 283AH Saada had been ruled by Imams of the Zaidi sect. A descendant of these Mutahhar ibn Sharafuddin rose against the Turks but was compelled to submit to the foreign rulers and was recognised as sanjak of Thula 958. However in 975 he rebelled, captured Sanaa and in a few months ruled all Yemen except Zebid. Two years later Sinan pasha forced him to submit and retire to Saada which received a Turkish garrison and paid tribute while his nephew Muhammed ibn Shamsuddin became prince of Kaukaban. In 950 Mutahhar died. In 986 the Imam Hasan ibn Ali el Muayyidi raised a rebellion in Ahnum where he held out for seven years. Two years later the sons of Mutahhar took advantage of a change of governor to start another rebellion which had a brief success. The Imam Hasan and the sons of Mutahhar were sent to prison at Constantinople; Abdulla ibn Mu'âfa handed over Sûda and was recognized as governor thereof and Abdurrahman ibn Mutahhar became chief of Hajja.

Immediately afterwards Abdulla ibn Ali ibn Husain ibn Azzidin Hasan the Imam proclaimed himself imam/

imam in Sharaf. He fled to Sabya and then to Dhahban. His mission met with little success for though he had some reputation for learning, the doctors in the days of the Imam Hasan had not always agreed with him. For seven years the Turks had been suspicious of Qâsim ibn Muhammed ibn Ali ibn Muhammed ibn Ali ibn Rashid, a relative of Hasan and had kept an army at Sanaa ready to crush the first signs of revolt when in 1006 he proclaimed himself imam.

At the end of 1005 the Imam Mansur billah Qasim with a few companions went secretly to sheikh Abu Zaid ibn Sirag of Sanhân and thence sent out letters calling the Arabs to rise against the Turks. This was the result of a conference of chiefs from Zabid in the south to Saada and Abu Arish in the north. Some had advised waiting as the power of the Turks was firmly established but other counsels carried the day and in I 1006 the rising began among the Banu Sanhan because of their central position. This decision was helped by the report that Hasan pasha was selling his household goods and leaving Yemen. Abdulla ibn Mas'ud a chief of Qâra, a man of the noblest character and a flowing beard, was the first to acknowledge the imam. Abu Zaid changed his mind/

mind and advised Qasim to go to Qara. The chiefs of Qara came to the imam, swore him fealty and after two days travelling he reached their home, leaving his little son Muhammad behind. Abu Zaid gave him a little help including two old muskets and three Jib , of powder and shot. In those days guns were scarce; only chiefs had them. He also presented a mare named Victory which the Imam took as a good omen. Some four hundred men gathered and another horse was given the imam who ordered the castle of Wasaha to be invested. The siege lasted three days; perhaps four of the garrison were killed while the besiegers suffered no loss.

The imam led the Friday prayers in Qara and ordered all to prepare their weapons for the holy war and to spread their turbans on their backs. News came that the Turks were gathering; from Sharaf, from Abdurrahim ibnⁿ Abdurrahman at Hajja and from Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Sharafuddin at Kaukaban. These last were too late for the fight. Abdulla ibn Mu'afa, the chief of Sûda, marched from Sanaa to Ahnum to overawe the district devoted to its native rulers. Qasim recalled his troops from Wasaha and a debate took place whether they should take up a position on the hill beside the town that night or next/

next morning. When morning came they found the Turks had climbed the hill and reached the plain. The imam was defeated and was finally persuaded to retire to Awdiya whither some of his men followed him. They were depressed by failure and hope was all but lost; for the Turks were gathering from all sides, giving large monies to spies and trying in all ways to destroy Qasim and his followers. In spite of this a local man said to Qasim: Write this for me for preservation. The imam said to his secretary, Write as he desires. He replied, What is the good? This is no time for writing. You are not equal to the occasion! I will throw off the yoke of the Turks and their friends and make them drink the cup of destiny.

The next retreat was to 'Udhr, then to Sanhân and finally to Baraṭ where the imam stayed two months. By the grace of god this proved a blessing to him and the muslims. Meantime ibn Mu'âfa marched to Shahâra where he was joined by troops from the governor of Zâhir who himself stopped in Khamr. Some twenty officers of the imam after their flight from Qâra enlisted a thousand men of Hâshid and Bakîl, the majority Turkish auxiliaries who deserted on the march from Khamr to Akhraf and attacked their former masters, killing six and seizing many weapons. The/

The Turks took refuge in a valley and were hemmed in on every side. The Arabs displayed a white cloth to make them believe the imam was present. Ali ibn Muṭahhar, though he had sworn allegiance to the imam, marched to the rescue of the Turks; treacherously pretending he was coming to help the faithful. Ibn Mu'afa sent another relief and the troops were extricated but nothing more was attempted. The Turks returned to their bases and the Arabs dispersed. Before this fight the people of Ḥaima under the leadership of Yûsuf al Ḥimâṭi had risen against the Turks who were panicstricken; it is even reported that in Sharaf they feared at nightfall lest the earth should swallow them. On every hand there was only one subject of talk the imam's mission. When Yusuf heard he had retired to the east he feared lest he had given up the fight and wrote to encourage him, to say that Ḥaima might choose some other to be imam and lead them against the Turks. Qâsim then advanced to Shâtib in the country of Asad ibn Sufyân.

Before this the rising had spread and Wâda'a had declared for the imam as the Turks gave up their plans for Ahnûm and advanced on Wada'a to ravage the country, cut down the vines and pillage the houses. They/

They marched from Ahnûm and Khamr. Ibn Mu'afa did not dare to follow the usual road east of Hajr but went instead to the west of Ahnum and Zulaima. It is said that fourteen thousand men gathered for this campaign; but God knows best. The amir Hasan ibn Nâsir el Rurbâni had his headquarters in Masna'a in lower Wada'a and fought the Turks night and day, killing many in their camp.. A band of twenty five men whom Qasim sent from Shâtib, greatly encouraged the soldiers of God and the Turks were defeated. Though the amir Hasan was wounded by a bullet that broke his foot yet the Faithful were elated and their enemies frightened; so that three hundred men of Ahnum fled from the Turks and raised the standard of revolt in their homeland. The Arabs attempted a further advance south but were defeated by a twofold attack from Sûda and retired on Zulaima. Meanwhile the imam advanced from Shatib accompanied by Ahmed ibn 'Awwâd el Asadi and entered Ahnum early in III 1006 when he spent some time in different parts of the district. The tribes of Ahnum Zulaima and 'Udhr welcomed him and spent their property and lives freely in his service; besieging the Turkish garrison in Hajr who surrendered on promise of safe conduct to Suda.

A force was then sent against Sharaf; the Turkish garrison in Tahnana opposed them and was defeated though the Faithful were few. Under the Turkish rule it was the exception for an Arab to own a musket and even then he dared not practice with it lest his possession should be known; and the strength of the people was sapped by the oppression of the Turks and their own chiefs. One who took part in this fight said the Turks had two thousand four hundred muskets and the iman barely twenty. God knows! The Turks and some retainers of Abdurrahim fled to Hajja and the Faithful entered Sharaf without fight. Some of the people of Higâr, urged on by Madûh a sufi chief of the Banu Aslam joined the imam. Several of the chiefs of Sharaf fled to Hajja and then to Sanaa where they remained till they lost all hope of Turkish success when they made their peace with the imam after the capture of Shahâra; perhaps with the consent of the Turks. In the same month Zâhir ibn 'Urjâsh made a raid through Tais to 'Affâr and besieged Na'mân Haura. The garrison surrendered and were sent to Qasim with all their arms and equipment. A mixed force of soldiers and tribesmen attacked Hajja laying siege to Dhunûb, Mabyan and Kaukabân Qudam./

N.

Qudam. In Dhunub was Abdurrahîm ibn Abdurrahmân, an important amir of the Turks and ruler of the whole district. He was an ally rather than a subject of the pasha. As will appear later the chronicler had no reason to love this man. He is described as treacherous cruel and wicked; delighting in crooked ways, in the shedding of blood and in the murder of women and children. For him promises were made to be broken yet his shifty dealings did not meet with success. Another ally of the Turks, Ahmed ibn Shamsuddîn, the chief of Kaukaban who ruled Maswar Lâ'a Najra Tais and Shâhidniya and was supreme in his own dominions except for a yearly tribute, was driven out of Qarâda and La'a.

After the conquest of Sharaf the Turks retired from Wâda'a to Khamr followed by several believing chiefs among them Ahmed el Asadi. In their panic the enemy made deceitful proposals: they should be allowed to retire with their baggage to el Baun; to which Asadi agreed if the imam should approve. After a day or two the Turks advanced to attack el Asadi at Naqîl 'Ajîb but the surprise failed, they lost all their equipment, ninety camels laden with money clothing powder and shot, as well as two culverins and fled in disorder to 'Amran, after three days retiring to Sanaa. Ibn Mu'afa returned/

returned to Qarn en-Nâ'î, the citadel of Suda, and the district of Zâhir declared for the imam.

Two sayyids Hasan ibn Sharafuddin and Sâlih el Rurbânî joined us and drove the amir Hamza ibn Ahmed, a sayyid from Dhifân, out of Muda' and made him retire by way of 'Amran on Sanaa. Various fugitives fled to these sayyids from Kaukaban where they had been imprisoned because of their reputation and their influence with the tribes. Some had been released on parole but as they had taken an oath that was not binding they fought for the faith. Hasan ibn Sharafuddin advanced on Hadûr esh-Sheikh when the people of Thula invited him to their town. The castle which stood on a lofty rock had been blockaded for some time and two days after his arrival it was taken. The captain of the castle, a Turk Ali Aga - a violent ruffian - had in the dungeons the lawyer Wajîhuddîn Abdulhâdi and as the townsfolk feared he might be murdered they implored Hasan to write to Ali threatening him with death if any evil happened to his prisoner. While Hasan was writing the letter the rabble of the town rushed to the outer gate of the fort and forced it open though it was made of iron. They then broke the gate above and with this success the crowd increased. The staircase was so crammed that men could/

could not see their feet. In their attempts to force the third gate which was plated with iron, men almost crushed each other to death. The garrison threw stones and hurled rocks upon them; they tore down the rooms above the stair and the fort was shrouded in dust. The continued pressure forced the door and the crowd entered the castle. The garrison thought they had killed most of those on the staircase but they had only inflicted a few slight wounds. The commander told the imam: Our assailants were angels not men; for they had no protection and we hurled many missiles at them. The fortress was in storeys like a house and the attacking party was in difficulties on the narrow stair and knew not what to do. The garrison had lost all hope of escape so they dragged Abdulhadi, loaded with chains and fetters out of his dungeon, meaning to kill him. He heard the tumult and shouts without knowing their meaning. The aga's wife begged him to give them his protection, so he tried to speak to his friends but could not for the noise. The aga then heard that the assailants had entered the fort from the other side also and as he hurried to the spot he was taken prisoner. The castle was plundered thoroughly, all the furniture arms and provisions being removed. Abdulhadi saved the aga's life though in so doing all his clothes were/

were torn off him. Hasan tried to save the corn powder and shot but failed. When this news reached Suda many of the troops went over to the imam in Ahnum and ibn Mu'afa shut himself up in Qarn en-Nâ'i. The faithful entered the town and besieged him in the castle.

Zahir ibn 'Urjash went to Mt. Nîsa and sent a detachment to Shab'ân a ruined fort between 'Affar and Şabra, himself advancing to Qaidân. They defeated some Turks in Şabra under Ahmed edh-Dhimari who had been sent there after withdrawing from Sharaf by Abdurrahim. The result was that Sabra, 'Affar and Kuhlân Tajuddin submitted to the imam and acknowledged his jurisdiction. The castle of 'Affar was besieged for a year. The two castles of Zâhira on Hinwam and Manşûra below Shahâra then surrendered.

(Mansura was formerly known as Rizwa and was renamed by the imam.) Shahara itself then submitted and most of the garrison settled in the imam's territory, as they were married men with families. This was in IV. or V. 1006.

Preceded by Ahmed ibn Ali ibn Da'îsh on a secret mission the imam's captains entered Maswar after the battle of Naqil 'Ajib and captured Bait Fa'ish whereupon the whole district as far as Muda' and Mt. Nimra acknowledged him. 'Ûli was captured and Ahmed/

Ahmed el Mahrâthi sent to be governor.

About the middle of 1006 while Mabyan, Kaukaban, Jâhili and Dhunûb, dependencies of Hajja were besieged, Abdurrahim began to treat with Mansûr billa. Negotiations lasted two months and were delicate, several missions passing between the two parties. The imam sent a company of sayyids lawyers and chiefs; each party under the headship of one of their number. Finally an alliance was formed. Abdurrahim was to keep the fortress of Mabyan only, with all his property and lands; the imam would pay his soldiers and he would fight the Turks under the imam's orders. With five hundred soldiers he then visited the imam at Mt. Hinwam where he was received with the highest marks of respect. Nevertheless he changed his mind immediately for he thought the imam had no chance of success so long as he observed the laws established by the prophet to honour religion and suppress evil. Also certain unfortunate incidents occurred: the death of Yusuf el Himati and the battle of Ruhbân near Saada. So burning with the fires of disappointment Abdurrahim published his fidelity, concealed his trickery, took the money paid by Qasim and left for Suda, plotting treachery. He opened correspondence with ibn Mu'afa in Qarn en-Na'i and tried to trap Ahmed el Asadi and other leaders of the/

the faithful but they did not trust him. He was already treating with the Turks and the amir Sinân published this abroad to prevent him changing his mind again. He joined Sinan in 'Amrân and the faithful withdrew from 'Ayâl Yazîd to Nûrâsh when ibn Shamsuddin attacked them in the rear and defeated them. Qasim moved to Habûr I.VIII 1006 to support his troops in Suda.

At this time envoys came to the imam from all parts; all save those who were too weak came and his following grew rapidly. Every one who saw him loved him for his fine disposition, his kindly actions and his generosity. God gave him the means to satisfy all comers with clothes money or food; men knew that he found his equal only among the great imams of old and his fame spread from Mekka to Aden.

He sent an expedition that overran Khaulân Saada and Haidân; the Turks shutting themselves up in the town of Saada and Mt. Râzeh. When the imam's power was established in Saada the sayyid Abdulla ibn Ali who had tried to make himself imam in 993, now declared for him and went to Shahara early in VIII 1006. He was received with all respect, given high rank, robes of honour, the finest horses and made governor in Khaulân. His son Muhammad who had quarrelled/

quarrelled with his father also joined the imam. As he was too fond of power differences soon arose and father and son fled to the Turks who settled on them some villages.

At the beginning of the negotiations with Abdurrahim the faithful in Saada with a crowd from Hashid and Bakil - altogether two thousand men - advanced to the city and camped near Ruḥbân posting some troops in the houses. When it became clear that they meant to blockade the town the Turkish amir gathered his daredevils and rushed on them. The faithful fled to the hills and their leader was slain. The guard in the village capitulated but faith was not kept and they were butchered. The sayyid Ali el Khudairi alone was spared for a few days when the amir killed him; it is said with his own hand. He did not long survive and died, possibly by poison, crying out: Enough sayyid Ali! Enough sayyid Ali! The slain numbered four hundred mostly from Hashid and Bakil.

About this time Ali ibn Ahmed ibn Abu-r Ri-jâl occupied Hazm at the request of the inhabitants for he belonged to that village. Sinân came from Sanaa with the Ismaïlians of Hamdân who had a long-standing feud with Hazm. Ahmed el Asadi brought up reinforcements/

reinforcements and fighting went on for thirty five days. Sinan used a cannon against the village but the resistance of the villagers became proverbial. The Turks began to slacken when the news of Yusuf el Himati's death took heart out of the defenders. The soldiers and the inhabitants retreated, the village was sacked and all the vines and crops were destroyed; the vengeance of Hamdan. Then Sinan went to 'Amrân to meet Abdurrahim; end of VIII 1006.

This is the list of the provinces of the imam's dominions with their governors. His authority was by no means unchallenged; many of the strong places being still held by the Turks.

PROVINCE	GOVERNOR
Ahnûm and 'Udhr	Abdulla ibn Muhammad el Mihrrâthi
Shazab and Zulaïma	Ibrahim ibn Mahdi ibn Hajjaf el Qasimî.
Zâhir	Sâlih ibn Abdulla el Rurbani
Thula and its dependencies: 'Affar Kuhlân Muda' and Upper Baun	Hasan ibn Shurafuddin el Hamzi
Haima and Tais	'Âmir ibn Ali
Maswar Qarâda and Lâ'a	Ahmed ibn Muhammad el Mihrrâthi
Hajja/	

PROVINCE

GOVERNOR.

Hajja	Amiruddin ibn Abdulla
Sharaf and its dependencies	Ahmed ibn Muhammad el
Hajûr Mt. Aslam and Higâr	Qâsimi
Khaulân Saada I.	Muhammed ibn Salâh ez
	Zafâre
II.	Ali ibn Ibrahim el
	Haidani
Khaulân Sanaa	Ahmed ibn Awwad el
	A'sadi.

The imam was served faithfully by his governors; they gave themselves to God and led the faithful in the right way; they spared themselves no trouble in the interests of their people in questions of taxes or rescripts. The Turkish officials had loved the things of this world and feared no human punishment and their rule had been evil. The people in their ignorance did not know that any other was possible. The Turks had abused and ill-treated them; the imam's governors were honourable and kind to their subjects.

In the south near Dhimar the tribe of Qâ'ifa threw off the Turkish yoke. The late chief Ahmed had two sons; one Husain was a Turkish amir; the other Muqbil, though young, was self-confident and highly/

highly esteemed by his tribe. He offered his services to Ahmed el Asadi and was enrolled among the imam's followers. In 1004 Sinan had conquered Yâfi' and left a garrison in Khalaga to keep order in the land for he had gained a wholesome respect for the tribes while fighting them. When Muqbil joined the imam Yafi' rebelled and Sinan sent an army from Sanâa to relieve Khalaga. The two armies met in Najd es-Salaf, otherwise Nahd al Haj where Abul Fath ed-Dailami was killed 430, and the Turks were defeated with the loss of fifteen chiefs and many common soldiers: end of VIII.1006. Then Hasan pasha sent Husain to persuade his brother Muqbil to return to his allegiance. On meeting his brother, Husain threw over the Turks, raised the tribes from 'Ans Zebîd and Yarîm also the Âl 'Ammar and attacked Ibb and Jibla. The Turks gathered their troops from lower Yemen and the battle was fought in the Wadi Hayyan at Shalâla, a day's journey from Radâ'. The Turks lost all their leaders and their camp. The number of the slain was never known for they lay among the rocks but in one place three hundred were counted. Sixty horses were captured. Hasan then called Ali pasha the amir of Abyssinia to his aid.

While the imam was in Habûr, from I.IX. 1006
various/

various people joined him; the chief authority in the neighbourhood on Zaidi canon law; Ali ibn Yûsuf el Himati who though young and without a beard yet showed signs of greatness and afterwards reached the highest place, honoured by friends, feared by enemies before treachery gave him a martyr's death; and the traditionist Ahmed ibn Uthman the Shafe'i from Masûh. Qasim showed him the highest respect for he was one of the chief Shafe'i doctors of the law in Yemen, and asked him about the traditions he knew. So he wrote for the imam a diploma for the Six Books with an elegant preface recounting the exploits of the prophet's family.

While Sinan was in Nurâsh after the defection of Abdurrahim, fear possessed the faithful and Qasim ordered the Turkish posts to be watched and war to be waged in more distant parts as Khaulan and Haima. Sinan had ordered a raid on Bait 'Ilman where the inhabitants slaughtered cattle and made a feast for the Turks. A foray from Maswar drove out the Turks and ate the meal prepared for them. 'Âmir the imam's uncle occupied Tawîla 1.II.1006 and besieged the castle. An attempt by Ahmed ibn Shamsuddin to relieve it led to many skirmishes. On 4 I. the faithful gave way to panic but 'Amir made a bold stand till his army returned to the fight and the battle grew hot. Rain fell and ibn Shamsuddin fled to his supports/

supports where his brother was posted. This day at Taryâda thirty four heads were cut off and much booty taken. When ibn Shamsuddin returned to the attack under a screen of mules the surprise was at first successful but the faithful rallied. He was surrounded but one of his slaves cried with a loud voice Soldiers of my master; till he was stricken with palsy and fell dead. They say that a man from Tais did not wish ibn Shamsuddin to be captured or killed and gave orders to let him escape. 'Amir stayed here till I.1007 skirmishing the whole time.

Sinan tried to relieve ibn Mu'afa in Qarn en-Na'e. One attempt failed because rain soaked the matches of the Turkish guns. They fled and the tribesmen's swords did much execution; the booty included weapons horses and raiment. Sinan wanted to take refuge in a ruin but his followers would not have it saying it meant death or captivity. They fought bravely round him and though most were killed the general escaped; it is said, on the back of one of his servants. About two hundred Turks were killed; the faithful were much heartened and produced much poetry.

In the south Ahmed el Asadi was active. He defeated Hedâ and attacked the fortified village of/

of Zurâja between Sanaa and Dhimar. Because Sinan was near with a large army the garrison was off its guard never dreaming of an attack. The first thing they knew was that their foes had broken through the walls and were among them. Among the spoil were three hundred ^{١٠٠} of food. Ahmed had contrived to make peace between the tribes of Khaulan and Nihm and gathered them into his army; taking them on long raids and satisfying their lust for booty. Hasan pasha sent Husain el Wâ'iz against them.

This man came to Sanaa in the guise of a religious, made himself a bed in a corner of the mosque and preached to the people. If a rich man came to him he turned away to show his contempt for this world but the poor he received gladly. The pasha and Sinan, experts in cunning, tried to find out all about him and offered him rich presents that he would not accept. Then the pasha summoned him to his presence to hear him preach and profit by his learning; for he had come to suspect that under the cloak of poverty he was aiming at power. On this first visit he treated him above his deserts and gave him such presents as befit a religious; a praying mat and a warm cloak; but no money for his scorn of it was known. Later he set before him rich meats, gave/

gave him valuable presents that the desire for these things might grow in his heart. Again he called him, spoke long with him, showed delight in his company and craftily led him out of religion into the world; till he became his servant and at last amir. His reward was hellfire for they slew him unawares.

He encamped with a large force of horse and foot, well equipped with tents and other necessities at Usnâf. The capture of Yusuf el Himati had enhanced his reputation. Ahmed el Asadi attacked his camp by night and at dawn, probably 28 X 1006 drew off intending to retire in search of supplies for he had no provisions with him and had sought them in vain in the neighbourhood. The Turks feared disaster as they were far from Sanaa and the tribes were gathering so they began to strike camp. As soon as the faithful saw this they charged with a shout and after an hour's struggle, scattered the Turks, capturing their train three hundred camels, seven hundred donkeys, a hundred horses and forty-five mules. Some horses bolted without riders and el Wa'iz himself owed his safety to the fleetness of his steed.

About the new year 1007 ibn Mu'afa began to/

to treat with the imam, proposing to surrender Qarn en-Na'î and join the faithful; for the garrison were in great straits, weakened with scurvy and most of the prisoners and hostages had died of hunger.

Qasim wished for an unconditional surrender but he could not resist the entreaties of those who had relatives imprisoned in the castle, for the number of deaths among the captives had been concealed. Finally it was agreed that ibn Mu'afa should leave the castle, that the imam's son Muhammad should take possession while the Turks and subjects of Kaukaban received safe conduct. Ibn Mu'afa joined the imam in Habûr and was treated with all deference; but many distrusted him for his conversion was not sincere.

Ibn Shamsuddin asked Sinan to join forces with him against 'Amir; pointing out that unaided he would not make head against the faithful while 'Amir was the most dangerous of their opponents. So Sinan and Abdurrahim collected all available troops and marched to Barikat al Khalb near Kaukaban early in II 1007; it was a great host with three hundred horse. A council was held and Sinan showed that the success of the imam would mean the ruin of each one of them; it was essential to combine under one/

one commander and he proposed the chief of Kaukaban. Ibn Shamsuddin declined and all took an oath to obey Sinan. After taking measures to protect their rear they marched on Tawila, paying no heed to small outposts and after a day of obstinate fighting entered the town. Nevertheless they were almost besieged there for the faithful cut their communications and seized a convoy of food and munitions on its way from Kaukaban. For nine days this situation continued till Sinan bribed the men of Haima to desert 'Amir who was then defeated and retired on Maswar to Ahmed el Mîhrâthî.

During the fighting in Tais the faithful took Muda' by a night attack. It is said that all the garrison was killed save one who hid among the women. The castle was sacked but the powder and shot were saved. This was the chief success since the capture of Thula for Muda' was strongly fortified. An attempt on Bukur near Kaukaban was a disastrous failure.

In II 1007 the imam moved from Habûr to Sûda to support 'Amir by making the enemy uneasy about his communications and also to extricate his son Muhammad from Muda'; which was done successfully. The withdrawal of 'Amir caused a panic and the town of Thula was abandoned. Sinan besieged the small garrison/

garrison left in Muda' and at the same time attacked Maswar where some of the tribes had come to an understanding with him though they had not broken openly with the faithful. He attacked Bait 'Udhâga and two days later the Banu Ali of Maswar took the faithful in the rear. In the fight Ahmed el Mihat-hi was killed, a sore blow to Islam; though 'Amir escaped. Tongue cannot tell nor pen paint the nobility of this man, his influence, his piety, his humility, affability and other virtues. Though young, you would have thought he had schooled himself in virtue during long years; all who came in contact with him, loved him. He was deeply learned, for the attainment of knowledge he had even denied himself marriage. You would say he had been born in authority as you saw him give the right commands, be firm or gentle as occasion demanded, punishing the evil and relieving the oppressed. During the night the men of Maswar recovered his body and over his tomb they built a chapel.

Frightened by the fall of Thula and Muda' the troops in 'Affar offered to surrender if their personal safety was guaranteed. The transfer of the fortress was arranged for 17 II . This led to strife between the Banu Mauhib and Qaidân. According/

According to the terms of surrender four of the garrison went to Sabra to buy sheep ghee and bullocks' feet escorted by twelve of the Banu Sâwir. On the road they met fifty Banu Mauhib who stopped them from going to the market and finally robbed them. The two tribes began to fight, reinforcements came up on both sides, the blockade of 'Affar was forgotten and the battle became general. 'Affar kept true to its engagement and did not use the opportunity. At last a slave threw himself between the ranks and restored quiet. The garrison of 'Affar departed under safe conduct with such goods as they could carry, leaving behind great store of necessities of all kinds.

Amir Ibn Ali, the uncle of the Imam, and Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Qarra were in captivity in Samarra but God made the way of escape easy and they fled at night from Samarra, guided by a retainer of Yusuf, to the Banu Mimir where they hid in a lawyer's house and then to al-H. II. / His hand over the command to Amir al-Qarra, whose name was, who made himself beloved of his followers and inflicted grievous harm on his foes. Meantime Margan al-Qarmani/

II. SOUTH.

When the cause of the imam was first preached in the land and from all sides the Turkish forces marched on Qara and Ahnum, Yusuf el Himati was sent to Haima, his own country, and the districts round - Harâz Anis Khaulân and Sanhân. He hid in Shâhadhia in the house of a lawyer for fear of the Turks and then entered Haima with a party of sharifs. After defeating forty Turks who lost their arms but escaped with their lives he was joined by the tribes of the district and made his headquarters among the Banu Yusuf. Ahmed el Jazzâr with his Turks threw himself into 'Urr where they were observed by Muhammed ibn Ali el 'Ayâni.

'Amir ibn Ali, the uncle of the imam, and Muhammad ibn Ali el Qarrâ were in captivity in Kaukaban but god made the way of escape easy and they fled by night from Shibâm, guided by a retainer of Yusuf, to the Banu Nimri where they hid in a lawyer's house and then to el Himati. He handed over the command to 'Amir whose power grew, whose fame spread, who made himself beloved of his followers and inflicted grievous harm on his foes. Meantime Margân el Qarmani/

Qarmâni was sent from Kaukaban with four hundred men mostly armed with muskets to 'Urr; where there was now an army of some thousand or more whereof eight hundred had muskets. El Qarra' was sent thither with this letter for Muhammed el 'Ayani. In the name of God the allmerciful. From the servant of god Yusuf to the excellent lawyer Muhammed ibn Ali. Peace be upon you, god's mercy and his blessings. The glorious sayyid Muhammad el Qarra' has come to you as commander and you are his lieutenant. Oppose him in nothing according to god's word: Do not disagree for you will become cowards and your strength will fail; and the prophet's: Put them forward and put not yourselves forward before them.

At the head of thirty muskets and four hundred other soldiers el Qarra' seized a fort called the Little Castle at the top of the hill. The seventy men who held it were allowed to go to the Banu Maţar taking their arms with them. After further skirmishing the Turks attacked up a steep pass. One of the faithful shot the standard-bearer and his fall put an end to a stiff fight. An explosion of powder had already burnt eight men. The Turks fled some to Mansura some to 'Urr over ground so steep that/

defeated/

that a man could not climb it even though he had not to fight. Ahbûb and the Banu Siya', tribes of Upper Haima had arrived meaning to succour the Turks; but when they saw them in flight they turned on them and plundered them. They climbed to 'Urr and as the eastern gate was shut they surrounded the fugitives killing and capturing.

Marjân hid with twelve companions in the house of a chief who took their arms. A low fellow from Ahbûb entered and stabbed him with a lance; some say, in the midst of his companions who were allowed to depart stripped. El Jâzzâr's son with two hundred men stayed three days at Mansura where were the chiefs and hostages of Haima; then they offered to surrender and el Qarra' spared their lives but took their weapons. This battle fell on Saturday 15 III or IV. 'Amir and Yusuf came to 'Urr after the Turks had abandoned it and received deputations from Haima Âniz & Thulth.

Then Abdulla er Rammâh led a thousand Turks from Sanaa to Ahbub but only one chief who feared for his life, joined him. He joined Ibrahim the Long at Raima in the Banu Siya' then they entered the Mu'âzeba. El Qarra' came to meet them and proposed to Abdulla to join the imam. He then defeated/

defeated the Turks capturing their camp with all tents implements and camels including ninety loaded camels that were intended for Raima. Ibrahim had caught by the head one of the faithful who saved himself by cutting off his hair; after being thrice wounded by bullets the Turk was killed. The Turks had so many guns in this fight that the noise was like thunder. Abdulla was given safe conduct for himself and his soldiers on condition that they beat no drums, showed no flags and made no noise. Thus they marched away in shame and disgrace till they met reinforcements.

From Sanaa Sinân marched at the head of four thousand men to Khaulan and routed 'Amir, killing perhaps seventy of his soldiers. The next day the fight was renewed with great slaughter at the Two Mosques. Sinan showed the most savage brutality, ordering every prisoner to be killed; even a girl though she begged the men of Kaukaban to save her. They say he told two men to hold her by her feet while a servant cut her in two. But fortune turned against him and had not the chief of Kaukaban come to his aid he would not have escaped for 'Amir was following him closely. He camped on Mt. Thuwairin and/

and 'Amir returned to Yusuf at 'Urr. They agreed that Yusuf should go to Anis and el Qarra' to Tais with a hundred men and seventeen muskets.

Thereupon the chief of Kaukaban sent Muhammad el Tuhani with an army drawn from Tais to invade Haima. Starting in the afternoon el Qarra' surprised this force at early dawn. Muhammad was surrounded, knew nothing of his foe's numbers or resources so he hastened to beg favourable terms. He was made prisoner with most of his men and all his transport and supplies and was sent to 'Amir. The same day el Qarra' entered Tais and every tribe he reached submitted to him.

Abdulla er Ruwâs had intended to succour Muhammad el Tuhani but when he heard of his fate he took refuge in a castle in the Khaulan and was attacked at the close of the day by el Qarra'. Ahmed of Kaukaban sent five hundred men and the Turks four hundred to relieve Abdulla. After these two detachments had united in the plain of Sanaa, el Qarra' met them after leaving a force to contain er Ruwâs. The Turks were defeated and fled to Tawîla but next day they returned fearfully to their previous position and routed el Qarra' with much loss. Five of the dead were decapitated. El Qarra' fled with only three/

three followers but the tribes of Haima joined him immediately and when the troops of Kaukaban thought to attack him they broke and fled. Guided by one of the Banu Habash he moved to that tribe who supplied seventeen guns. He camped on Mt. Ahnam with outposts on the hills round. The Turks concentrated an army - over a thousand muskets - to take vengeance on the Banu Habash, plunder the country and destroy the people. The faithful were victorious taking a hundred prisoners including the commander with all equipment and transport. This opened the way to the conquest of Lâ'a, Maswar, 'Affâr and Hajja. Ahmed of Kaukaban was seriously frightened and evacuated Tais; all the inhabitants - both Zaidi and Shafe'i - who had not already done so, joined el Qarra'. He then sent Ali ibn Yahya el Muhairisi to within earshot of Kaukaban whereupon Ahmed led his army in person and routed Ali while el Qarra' surprised by the advance guard of the enemy retired to the Banu Khayyât. As the men of Tawila had abandoned the town Ahmed of Kaukaban sacked it, killing seven of the old folk among them an uncle of el Qarra', without meeting any resistance. On his return to Kaukaban, el Qarra' occupied Tawila and invested the citadel, putting a garrison in el Qarâni'. The siege lasted six months.

Amir/

Amir remained in 'Urr facing Sinan. Intermittent fighting went on till the Turks retired to Mt. Thuwairin where they were surrounded. About this time el Qarra' decided for private reasons to pay his respects to the imam in Ahnum. After reporting to his sovereign he returned by Maswar to Tais and Tawîla; at the latest VI. 1006.

After the success in Tais Ali el Muhairisi observed Kaukaban, in one skirmish inflecting a loss of sixteen killed and forty-wounded on the inhabitants after which he withdrew to a convenient point opposite the Banu Khayyât. Ahmed ibn Shamsuddin was always trying some ruse on his opponent. They say he bribed the soldiers who had left him and joined Ali, driven by fears for their families in Tais. In a skirmish one of these men shot Ali; his head was cut off and his followers fled to Tawila. Another story is that Ahmed ibn Shamsuddin nearly lost his life that day as the faithful had cut off his retreat. Opportune reinforcements from Ahjur arrived and fighting stopped. Ali gave his troops a rest and the Turks surprised them. They put up a poor fight, Ali was shot in the thigh and was killed in a rush; thus winning a martyr's glory. Thus.1. VIII.1006. He had given all his property to buy powder/

powder and shot for the holy war and never looked back from opposing the wicked. His body was buried in his native place and his head carried to Kaukaban. His followers abandoned the greater part of Tais but el Qarra' rallied them to his own troops and reoccupied Tais and Tawila. Ibn Shamsuddin tried to re-provision the citadel of Tawila but was defeated with the loss of three horses.

The sayyid Ali ibn Salâh was now made governor of Tais. He had great influence with the imam and had been the intermediary between him and Yusuf el Himati; at the beginning of the revival Abdurrahim had imprisoned him in Mabyan. His father and kin lived in 'Ibal near Hajja whither his grandfather had migrated from el Haraja. He made Sâqûf his headquarters. It was the imam's intention he should act with 'Amir and el Qarra' but they quarrelled; Ali and el Qarra' returned to the imam and 'Amir went to Tais, where he was joined by tribesmen of Hâshidî and Bakîl. At the head of two thousand muskets he inflicted considerable loss on ibn Shamsuddin.

Sinan had posted his army in three camps in Hadûr but the Turks were in a bad way with Thula captured and Kaukaban hard pressed. Sinan was one of the most cunning of men; he tricked 'Amir with talk of/

of a truce while he bribed the chiefs of Haima with money and robes to agree to an armistice for three days. While the faithful were thus off their guard the Turks retook Thula for Hasan ibn Sharafuddin had not had time to reprovision the fort after the sack. About thirty of the faithful were killed, among them the sharif Sha'âlim an Indian who had studied married and settled in the town. Hasan with a few companions threw himself into Hujr Thula while the surrounding tribes looted the gates and woodwork.

The imam at once called out the tribes for an expedition to Thula. Levies from Janab, the Banu Habash, the Banu Qatîl and Qudam met in the Haqûr where they were joined by the Banu 'Amran. The battle was fought just outside the town and the Turkish horse routed the faithful who were all on foot, among them some Turks who had settled in Shahâra and been enlisted by the imam. Here happened a signal sign of god's mercy. In the middle of the fight powder ran short and all were at their wits' end; a soldier climbing up the rocks found a skin which proved to be full of powder. They praised god, and fought with renewed confidence although at the time their only food was locusts. The attack was renewed on the three following days. From Kaukaban came an army to take them in the rear but this met reinforcements/

reinforcements coming from Maswar and was driven back though the faithful lost their leader who died from a bullet wound in the foot.

One result was that the pressure on Thula was eased; and it was possible to stock the place with corn powder and shot. When Sinan was in the plain of Ḥaushân, Hasan ibn Sharafuddin had collected pieces of white marble for use as bullets.

When Yusuf el Ḥimati attacked Anis, 'Amir in Ḥaime and Ahmed el Asadi in Khaulan and Nihm cut the communications between Sanaa and Kaukaban. The fire of civil war spread in the neighbourhood of the capital and the inhabitants were panic-stricken. Shots were fired at the castle from Mt. Nugum and any noise was held to be the beginning of the sack. Hasan pasha feared capture or death and took council with the notables, both Arabs and foreigners, whether he should stay where he was to go down to Ta'iz and live there. He ordered Sinan to give up the attack on Thula and retire on Sanaa with his troops. The general refused. The pasha then wrote to the soldiers: Those who obey the sultan are to retreat to Sanaa with or without Sinan. Seeing that the men would not obey him the general collected the lighter baggage/

baggage, burnt the rest of the corn and fodder with the plunder of Thula and retired to the capital. When he heard of Hasan's resolve to go down to Ta'is he called him a weakminded coward and shut himself up in his house, to show his abhorrence of the pasha's baseness. This continued till Hasan promised to follow Sinan's advice.

Now Sinan was crafty, bitter in his enmity and steadfast in calamity. He gathered a number of Arabs, sharîfs and others, and asked them; Has Yemen ever been in a like state to the present? They answered that this had often happened under the imams. If fighting was prolonged their tribal following grew wearied of it, their zeal was quenched and the cause collapsed. This account strengthened his resolve to persist.

The inhabitants of Shibâm which was endangered by the departure of Sinan, fled to Kaukaban. One day ibn Shamsuddin was found crying for he firmly believed disaster was near. One of his soldiers said: Up, my lord, and fight for your life; or abdicate. The faithful took the town of Tawila and skirmishing went on there till II.1007.

Meantime Yusuf el Himati advanced on Dhimâr. He was learned and pious, obeyed god's laws and/

and despised this world and was honoured by all, especially by the inhabitants of this district. The chiefs of the land joined him but through fear. The pasha had given them authority, their allegiance to the imam was not sincere and they meditated treachery, corresponding in secret with the Turks. Two of the most prominent were actually sent by Sinan to betray Yusuf. They did homage, promised to serve the faith with wealth and life and sent their sons and servants to the army. Muḡhil el qâ'ifi also joined him. Dhimâr was captured, most of the Turks were besieged in the citadel and their vast wealth was confiscated.

The tribes of Ḥedâ followed Yusuf and plundered Dhimar for there was an old feud between them. Yusuf had forbidden this but as they scorned his orders he attacked them and slew twenty. The others fled. It is said that some went to Sanaa and called in the Turks against Yusuf. This delighted them, for Ḥedâ held the road between Sanaa and Dhimâr and could make communications dangerous. A big army was sent south. When this news arrived, Yusuf held a council with the chiefs who advised him to leave Dhimar, hoping in this way to discourage his soldiers and separate him from them. He was advised to take/

take up a strong position but refused to follow this advice, possibly because he suspected the honesty of the councillor who had been high in favour with the Turks. He halted at Naga'a and was surrounded; ammunition gave out and he surrendered with ^{the} ~~these~~ lieutenants to Husain el Wâ'iz, the Turkish general. Two other chiefs were captured at the head of Naqil Sumâra; one was killed on the spot, the other was imprisoned for a few days in Dhamarmar, was then put in a sack and thrown over a precipice. Yusuf was imprisoned in Sanaa and his death was announced shortly after; the Turks had killed him. Most of his soldiers were allowed to go free VI.1006. One result of this disaster was the evacuation of Haima. During the captivity of Yusuf Masâr drove out its Turkish garrison and acknowledged the imam.

C O L L A P S E /

C O L L A P S E o f t h e A R A B S .

Shortly after the agreement with ibn Mu'afa trouble broke out near Saada between the governor and the soldiers. It was part of the governor's duty to provide supplies for the troops. The sayyid Muhammad ibn Abdulla el Muayyadi made some request of the governor of Mt. Râzih an old enemy, which was refused. Whereupon he called out his retainers captured the governor and drove the faithful from Mt. Razih; all the while protesting his loyalty to the imam and excusing his action. The imam tried to restore concord but fighting broke out afresh and Muhammad retired to Haidân. As a second attempt to restore quiet the sayyid Abdulla ibn Muhammad el Mihrathî led an army to Haidan and the result was a battle at Marâzîm near Wasaha in which Muhammad was worsted with the loss of his horses and weapons. With a few followers he fled to Sâgîn and thence took his bedridden father to Qarâd in the country of the Âl Hattâb where he set his prisoners free. He then treated with the Turks of Saada, gave them his brother as a hostage and with their help beat off the faithful 1007. He exchanged humiliation for glory and went to Sanaa where he was/

was given the title of amir and men kissed his hand. There he remained till the city surrendered when he showed penitence and made his peace with Muayyad billa. Then he removed to Saada where he died 19.X. 1044.

During these disturbances the imam issued a manifesto against this troubler of the peace.

Muhammad el Muayyadi had written with his own hand offering to make alliance with Mansûr billa but then had favoured the Turks alleging they were the true believers whereas they were addicted to wine sodomy and murder. He had been minister of the imam Hasan but had forsaken him for Latfalla ibn Muṭahher and again he proved unfaithful. Then followed a long quotation from the Ahkâm of Hâdi ila 'l-Haqq Yahya describing the true imam. Muhammad was wanting in all these qualities moreover he had made friends of the Turks, those enemies of religion so he had no right to the rank of imam.

After 'Amir's retreat the only places left in the imam's possession were the three castles of Muda' Thula and 'Ûli. The garrison of Muda' was drawn from several tribes and had had no time to bring their families into the fort. Sinan tortured their wives and children and destroyed their houses so they made terms/

terms with him and their commander was allowed to join 'Amir in Haura. At the end of VII.1008 provisions in Thula were exhausted so the commander Hasan ibn Sharafuddin surrendered to ibn Shamsuddin after a gallant struggle - after seventy five skirmishes they say - and was imprisoned in Kaukabân where he remained nine years and fifty six days. Some of the imam's children were also captives there.

Sinan entered Thula and put the defence in order. Perhaps he wanted to get Hasan ibn Sharafuddin into his own power for he arranged a marriage between Ahmed ibn Shamsuddin and a daughter of Abdurrahim and insisted on being present at the festival in Kaukaban. There were great rejoicings at their success against Mansur billa. They muzzled a bull, tied it by a strong hide rope and called it the imam. Then they let loose a lion, the Turk. The lion sprang on the bull, seized it by the muzzle and dug its claws into it. Mad with pain the bull tossed the lion and trampled on it till it fell as if dead. The bull suffered no harm, but the lion died a few days after; a portent of our final victory!

'Uli remained for some time in our possession but at last the garrison, Banu Qudami, made terms with/

with ibn Shamsuddin. Their chief was only saved from the vengeance of the faithful by the personal intervention of the imam. Abdurrahim then occupied Kuḥlan Taḡuddin the adopted home of Hasan ibn Sharafuddin and 'Affâr though the fort remained in our hands. This only surrendered when provisions were exhausted after a year's blockade 3 II.1009.

Zafîr had promised to open its gates to the faithful but when Abdulla el Mihrâthi appeared in Tais where he thrice repulsed Abdurrahim, they were slow in fulfilling their promise. Then the imam sent his son Muhammad to 'Affâr whence he advanced to Tais in response to an appeal from el Mihrathi for Muhammad ibn Abdurrahman had been sent by his brother to attack the faithful in the rear. The Turks gave up their plan and Zafîr invited Muhammad ibn Qâsim to save them from the wiles of the infidels for a Turkish spy was trying to corrupt them. Muhammad and Abdulla met in Zafîr and attacked Ḥajja where Ahmed ibn Abdurrahman was deputy for his brother. (Kaukaban Qudam was fortified somewhat later by Abdurrahim.) The fighting swayed round the villages near, Mabyan Kaukaban Dhunûb and Qibla V.1008. Finally Abdurrahim came from Şabra and drove off a raid from Zafîr whereupon the faithful/

faithful withdrew to Ma'dhin which the Turks immediately besieged for they knew it was poorly found. In four days the garrison, three hundred men from Ahnûm and Wâda'a were reduced to eating a mule belonging to Abdulla and asked for terms. Reinforcements were hurried to Zafir so Abdurrahim, fearing to be overcome by superior numbers, agreed to grant terms. He meant to break his word and posted troops on the road by which the garrison would leave, to attack them. But the Turkish officers kept faith and warned the vanquished and though Abdurrahim ordered a pursuit god overturned his plans and delivered our men. The soldiers in Masha'a feared for their own safety and were hampered by having with them women children and old men. So Ahmed el Asadi with four hundred men came to Zafir after a toilsome march, also Ahmed esh-Sharafi at the head of three hundred and together they withdrew the garrison of Masha'a with little loss. The task was the harder because the tribes were wanting in the fear of the lord and much inclined to transient joys of the flesh. Jâhili was also evacuated; the men of Ahnum escaped but those of Jabr Hajja were slaughtered like cattle by Abdurrahim, for they were his subjects. About this time the chief Nasir el Bahili/

Bahîl plotted to assassinate the imam. He offered to surrender his castle to him in person. Qâsim's advisers tried to dissuade him from accepting but he would not go back on his word. As he approached the castle the chief fired three shots at him; without effect.

During an attempt to blockade Zafir Abdurrahim was shot in the neck, the bullet coming out through his mouth, knocking away some teeth and leaving a thickness in his speech. In IV.1008 the men of Zafir who feared the growing power of the Turks, advised Muhammad ibn Qasim to leave, so he went to Ahnum. Zafir then submitted to the Turks and several of their chiefs were removed to Sanaa where some of them died. Sinan too was so ill for four months that rumour said he was dead.

Meantime the imam was preaching the holy war at prayers and in assemblies of the people. Often he tried to persuade carnal men who disliked the crusade and loved this world better than the eternal and feared lest they should be given an order they could not refuse to obey. Once after prayers he ran into a solitary place and through the god-given strength that was in him none could follow save one servant. And Sinan had been told that he had grown fat/

fat and fleshy and could no longer race.

During Sinan's illness Qasim made a progress round Zâhir Rurbân Khamr and the land of the Kalbiyun urging men on to the holy war. The tribes hesitated; eye and voice told their disgust with and weariness of the strife. Then he summoned Ahmed el Asadi who brought six hundred men from Khaulân and Nihm; they met among the 'Ayal Yazîd and advanced towards Muda'. The allies of the Turks in Qaswa were given safe conduct because they were of the same tribe as el Asadi's men. The imam retired to Sûda and Ahmed to the east; then Sinan advanced to Şarâra to threaten Şazab and Khamr. By bribes and promises he persuaded the faithful to leave their posts, overran Şazab and invested Sûda. Qasim left and went to Abraç in Zulaïma while ibn Mu'âfa took refuge in Qarn en-Na'e II. 1008 and two days later made his peace with Sinan, marching with him on Khamr.

The imam was in desperate straits; after the Friday prayers in Abraç he had with him only three muskets. The tribes feared the Turks and would not help him and his soldiers had forsaken him, save a handful who never failed. Should he stop in Ahnum or go to some other district? Ahmed el Asadi came to Wâda'a, then joined Qasim and persuaded/

persuaded him not to move. For many foes of the Turks had taken refuge in Ahnum and if the imam left they would speedily fall a prey to the infidels. Further Ahnum knew more of the rights of the imam and the duties of his subjects; they were famed for their fidelity to his cause - a marked contrast to other tribes - and he had a cheerful trust in god. This plan proved to be the best; and for two years, till the siege of Shahâra the imam stayed in Ahnûm. He had a prophecy written in the Kufi character by the hand of Ali ibn Abi Talib that in the latter days one of the prophet's family would possess Shahara and destroy the power of the Turks. Did not this happen under Qasim, it would under his third son.

After the death of Yusuf el Himati his son Ali ibn Yusuf visited the imam in Habûr and asked permission to continue his studies as he was not yet twenty years old. As he had already studied to some purpose and had a reputation for knowledge of law as well as for bravery and honour the imam said the Cause was better than study and sent him to the south to recapture the districts lost on the death of his father. He defeated the Turks in Anis and again in Alhân and recovered the country as far as Dhimar/

Dhimâr Samâha and Wuṣṭûb. The pasha sent an army to defend Dhimar yet it was defeated and its general slain after fifteen days skirmishing although they had cannon with them. The victor Nasir ibn Râjîh maintained himself in Dhimar till Ali pasha returned from Khaulan.

After his conference with Qasim in Ahnum Ahmed el Asadi returned to Khaulan to find a sharif from Sanaa was corrupting the tribes by bribes. When he heard that this man had brought poison to destroy whom he could he gathered the chiefs and just succeeded in capturing him. Then a quarrel broke out in Anis between Ali el Himati and Dawud el Milâhi which ended in open strife. Nâsir ibn Rajih helped Dawud and Ali appealed to Ahmed. He led two thousand of his own troops and three hundred under Ali ibn Falâh el Hida'i from Dhirâ' el Kalb and patched up a peace by dividing the province between the two combatants.

Hasan pasha knew that to return to Khaulan el Asadi must pass through Turkish territory so he sent six hundred musketeers and two hundred horse, his own retainers, to A'shûr one post to the west of Sanaa; thinking to take him at a disadvantage as he climbed the defile. Ahmed waited in perplexity for two/

two days - and on the third forced the pass, fighting from noon till sunset. Three hundred and twelve muskets were captured and such Turks as escaped owed their lives to the cover of night. The same evening Ahmed attacked a Turkish post in Sinhân but the tribes of Khaulan gave the garrison safe conduct to Sanaa and the faithful received two hundred ^{دراهم} as compensation.

He spent a month traversing Khaulan while Ali el Himati entered the Banu Maţar. The effect of the battle was to rouse Nihm, Khaulan, most of Hidâ, Qâ'ifa and Anis against the Turks and to make el Asadi their most redoubtable enemy. He demanded supplies from Turkish vassals and they dared not refuse; they satisfied him before their own lords. It often happened that foraging parties of the faithful and of the Turks met in a village; the inhabitants entertained both and the Turkish amirs had to wink at such doings.

Sinan sent Majli el 'Udhri who had been long a prisoner, to Şarâra a strong fort three miles east of Shahâra whence he worked on the tribes of Ahnum by promises and threats. Though repeatedly recalled to his duty he persisted in his faith to the devil/



devil so at last the imam sent Hasan el Mihrathi against him. The Turks were not far off, the castle was believed impregnable yet the faithful carried it by assault. Majli had imagined he was safe as Ahnum was too afraid of the Turks and his own people dwelt in 'Udhr; but god disappointed his hopes.

N.

Abdurrahim sent the renegade Nâsir ibn Ali el Mahbashi to pervert the men of Sharaf as a preparation for an invasion. This was a man of wiles and devices; he made himself so useful to his masters that they made him an aga and later an amir with fifes and drums at his door. He put off all religion and followed his own lusts during a life of ease; yet his plans did not succeed. He held the chief command for a short time only; the faithful plundered his goods often, drove him from place to place, destroyed his houses and at last expelled him from the country. Thereupon he went to Sanaa with his wives and children. He held several governorships for the Turks yet he was always writing to the imam and sending him money in the guise of vows. In 1034 he was despoiled of his property and his children imprisoned. He was in 'Amran at its capture and made his peace with Muayyad billa as he showed contrition for the past. He built a great house in Muhâbesha - partly at the imam's/

iman's expense - and was sent later to Zabîd to help in arranging the terms of surrender. He was a generous man of many fine qualities and died V. or VI. 1045.

There were not enough of the faithful to guard the borders of Sharâf and besides they had been corrupted for they had their families with them and knew the temper of the country. Some of their chiefs too were untrustworthy. The natives had been in correspondence with the Turks; partly through fear and partly through enmity to the imam. Amrûr had sent hostages in secret to Hajja, Muḥâbesha was led astray by the kinsmen of Nâsir who had a great place in their affection, and Hajr had promised obedience stipulating that Abdurrahim should not remain in their territory, also the Banu Ka'b and the Banu Hillan. All these, save the Banu Ka'b who were too far away, could help the Turks in their advance. After these preparations on 12 IV.1008 Abdurrahim and Nasir marched on Amrûr. The army divided; one division was led by a spy up a rough track to Sa'dan and the other moved by the pass. A few of the faithful were posted at the top with orders to fire shots if they saw the enemy. As the wind was blowing a gale their guns were not heard and the main body found/

found itself attacked in front and rear and retired. The governor called a general levy but no one responded so he retired to Mt. Nus-an. Reinforcements from the imam came up but as the troops of the faithful continually melted away the governor retired further to Hajûr. Abdurrahim occupied Nusan and laid siege to Kuhlân which shortly surrendered after Ali esh-Shahâri had escaped by night from the fort. The imam sent another army into Shaḡab but it was not strong enough to make head against the Turks from Sûda and so retired. Meantime Hajûr was unoccupied and the chiefs appealed to Qasim in the hope of realizing selfish ends of their own. In answer to this request Muhammad ibn Qasim went to the house of Zâhir ibn 'Urjash in 'Âhim. Jerâd ibn 'Uthman took this as a mark of favouritism and the two chiefs quarrelled. To promote peace Muhammad went to Jerâd's house but notwithstanding the bitterness increased and the chiefs threw in their lot with Abdurrahim who thus became master of all Sharaf and Hajûr.

After his visit to the imam in Sûda 'Amir returned by way of Khaulân and Anis to Haima where he was loved and obeyed. From this base he conquered the greater part of Tais and halted among the Banu/

Banu Habash with twenty servants while his six hundred soldiers went on to Radmân in Tais. Alarmed at this success Ahmed ibn Shamsuddin gathered his own men as well as some Turkish troops and plotted to trap 'Amir. As a blind he attacked Radmân and on the next day 'Amir himself. He took with him fifteen hundred men guided by some whose homes were in the Banu Habash while six hundred others engaged Radman. The surprise was complete; 'Amir hid in a wood and might have escaped as the Turks were pursuing his fugitive companions, had not a woman of the place screamed. The enemy returned and captured him though a soldier of Kaukaban wished to let him go. Ibn Shamsuddin then returned to Radman and inflicted on the garrison, disheartened by the loss of their chief, a severe defeat. He took 'Amir to Khamr to Sinan who left him in prison for a fortnight and then had him flayed alive. Those captured with him were beheaded except two lawyers who were flayed. From earliest youth 'Amir had devoted himself to study, was well read in divinity and Arabic, humble and gentle to his friends in spite of his pride. He obeyed the call of the imam, inflamed his soldiers against the foe and fought manfully for the faith. He was killed Sat. 15 VII.1008.

About/

About this time Sinan moved from Khamr to Sanaa with a view to attacking Khaulan. Abn Bakr the chief of Raima and his cousin fled from prison in Sanaa to Ali el Himati. At first he believed they were spies sent by the Turks though later he convinced himself of their devotion to the imam and helped them to retake their home, the wide lands of Raima and Bura' with their twelve castles. The Turkish captain Hasan Bairaq Dâr surrendered with over a thousand men and was escorted to Zabîd as it was impossible to go to Sanaa.

N. In response to Hasan pasha's appeal, Ali pasha of Abyssinia arrived in Yemen with two thousand soldiers. He knew the country for he had once been governor of Saada, was rich and had formerly been known as the Khawâja. All lower Yemen went over to him and till he reached Dhimâr where Nâsir ibn Rajih tried to stop him, no one fired a shot or threw a stone at him. He bribed Muqbil el Qâ'ifi and his brother with money and promises and they lent him aid. Near Dhirâ' el Kalb Abdulla ibn Sa'îd et Tair helped by el Asadi tried to resist his advance yet in spite of a stubborn fight the faithful retired to Maswar followed by Ali pasha. Here they had better success and Ali retraced his steps to Mt. Lûz where Sinan joined him. A native was bribed (they say he got a bowl of/

of red gold) to lead the Turks to the top of Mt. Lûz and immediately the tribes of Khaulan scattered so Ahmed el Asadi went back to Maswar with Ali at his heels. Maswar made peace giving hostages to the Turks who advanced to Sûq el Haḍârim where they received the submission of Khaulan.

As Ali passed through Alhân on his way to Anis and Raima many of the local chiefs joined him and Ali el Himati retired before him. The pasha wrote to Bairaq Dar who knew the country well and ordered him to bring his treasure chest to the camp at Mt. Zalamlam. The men of Ḥarâz blocked the way so Bairaq Dar went through the pass of Maras below Hayaz. An ambuscade was waiting at the foot and when Ali pasha marched to the rescue they allowed the troops to pass and attacked him when he was only attended by a few servants; killed them all and captured much booty in arms money and mules. The pasha's troops were given safe conduct as far as Waṣâb till they reached the territory of Muhammad ez Zûm. The death of Ali pasha fell in 1008. At once el Himati entered Anis shut the Turks into the castle of Hajr Marran which was only an empty shell without food or water; so all their arms and treasure were captured. Sinan sent a fresh army and fighting lasted three months/

months till the natives lost heart and el Himati was driven back to 'Âniz.

At the same time that Ali pasha entered Anis^s, Sinan supported by ibn Shamsuddin attacked Haima. He waited in his camp in Haḍûr and did no more than destroy a few houses while Ahmed raided the faithful. The men of Haima grew nervous, lost their enthusiasm and gave in to the Turks, surrendering hostages. Then came the news of Ali pasha's death, to the consternation of all. Sinan let it be supposed that he was going to take possession of Ali's treasure, posted troops in strong positions and returned by Mt. Thuwairin to Sanaa; ibn Shamsuddin likewise went back to Kaukaban.

During these events in the centre of the country the imam was busy trying to win the allegiance of Wâda'a and Rurbân for they inclined to the Turks. After many excuses and refusals he bribed them with large sums of money to stand by him and sent troops into the district. Rurban however failed him. The amir Abdulla ibn Muṭahhar attacked the faithful in Wâda'a and in spite of an initial success the tribes soon wearied of fighting and came to terms. Then Rurban took sides with the imam but only in a half hearted fashion and the Turks ravaged the district.

Qasim /

Qasim had also sent troops into Haidân but the leaders quarrelled and Ahmed the son of the imam Hasan returned to Ahnum full of complaints. When sent back to his post he made terms with the Turks for he saw that the cause was declining and all men were submitting. Abdulla et Tair and Ali el Mihnaki continued to make head against the foe, killing or capturing some and spoiling others; till Abdulla left the country and joined the imam at Baraṭ after the loss of Shahâra.

In 1009 (perhaps VIII) the Turks made a great effort to crush the imam. To this end they made ibn Mu'âfa an amir and anyone who refused him that title was punished by a fine or in some other way. The army of the faithful was posted in several detachments along a line south of Ḥabûr. The enemy advanced northwards, apparently from Sûda, penetrated the imam's line and drove them back without much difficulty. In Ḥabur ibn Mu'âfa destroyed the houses of all the sayyids and plundered the country. The rest of Zulaima submitted. At the end of IX. the amir began corresponding with 'Uḡhr and Ahnum and when satisfied with the promises of support - whether given through fear or good will - he sent Dhu'l-Fiḡâr past the west of Ahnum to Hajr which was evacuated by/

by the faithful. On 2 X they retired still further to the Banu Hamra. The amir Dhu 'l Fiqâr deserves notice. His name Possessed of Poverty is a popular corruption of some foreign name D-l-f Q-r. He may have been a Christian renegade or an Albanian. A few days later ibn Mu'afa began the investment of Shahâra by establishing camps at short intervals round the place; he fancied he had thus caught the imam. Throughout the blockade there was stubborn fighting mostly near the Bab en Naşr; the faithful making sorties in the night plundering and killing as they could. One of the biggest of these was at Mahâfir a white hill east of the town where the Turks had built a blockhouse roofed with beams and doors collected from the countryside. The faithful attacked them, not to stop the work for the Turks were the stronger, but just to kill as many as they could. The fighting consisted mostly of stone throwing yet the Turkish commander was killed. The affair lasted from dawn to sunset when the few faithful left (some had gone to prayers and some to supper) captured nine tents pitched there by the Turks.

Several small parties including the imam, his sons Ali Hasan and Husain, escaped from the town. He/

He left his son Muhammad in command, another son Safi uddin Ahmed, his wives, daughters and many chiefs. His aim was to renew the fight and force the Turks to relax the blockade. Owing to the slackness and weakness of some tribes and the exhaustion of others he failed and when all provisions were exhausted the town surrendered XII.1010. Terms were arranged by the good offices of Ahmed ibn Shamsuddin by whom Muhammad ibn Qasim his relatives and friends were imprisoned in Kaukaban in a house named Mansura. The majority were set free in VII.1017 when peace was made with Ja'far pasha; the remainder were released two months later. The sayyid Mahdi ibn Ibrahim ibn Hajjâf remained in Kaukaban as chief judge and died there. His father died in captivity Sat 22 II 1011 and was buried beside the college of the imam, Sharafuddin in the tomb of the sayyid Mutahhar ibn Salâh ibn Shamsuddin in the right hand corner by the west door.

Ahmed ibn Shamsuddin died II X 1013 and was succeeded by his son Muhammad who often showed spite in his treatment of his captives and afterwards expressed contrition and excused himself. He only ruled two years till I.III 1015 and his brother Ismail followed him; a weakling paralyzed in the legs who died/

died during the peace negotiations 1.IV.1017. There was difficulty in finding a successor for there was no capable member of the family of Shamsuddin ibn Sharafuddin the imam. Some proposed Muhammad ibn Qasim but they were a minority. Finally they agreed on Ali ibn Shamsuddin who was devoted to pleasure. His foot had been broken by a bullet in the days of the imam Hasan and he had to use sticks in walking. He was weak and foolish in character so he was only appointed as a lay figure while his son 'Abdurabb ruled in his name. Muhammad ibn Azzuddin ibn Sharafuddin had hoped for the chieftainship and died of vexation at his disappointment.

Meantime the imam was wandering in the east, sometimes openly in Baraṭ, sometimes secretly and sometimes in lonely and desolate places. For the Turks were as much afraid of him as at the height of his success and tried by bribery and other means to capture him, knowing that his death would mean the end of the Cause. In his travels he reached Majraṇ and some of the tribes acknowledged him but strife broke out with the Ismailia of Yâm, who were Bâtinia and hated the imam so he returned to Baraṭ.

About this time Niām wrote to the imam asking for one of his chiefs to lead them against the/

Turks; so Ahmed el Asadi with seven companions was sent there. Sixty chiefs took the oath of allegiance, among them Sa'îd ibn Hâdi whose father was an ally of the Turks. A party of Hâdi's followers, the Na'man, waited in ambush for Ahmed and fired on him, wounding one of the party. The faithful took refuge in a house and the whole country rose against them. Some of the tribes, the Qumainât came to their aid and in a day or two the whole district changed their minds and covenanted to acknowledge the imam and resist the Turk. Ahmed then camped near Madîd and served out powder and shot to the tribes. Sinan marched from Sanaa and occupied Madîd whereupon the tribes of Nihm immediately deserted Ahmed and tried to surround him that they might bring the enemy down upon him but he escaped by a lonely path and reached Baraṭ under the guidance of Sa'id ibn Hâdi.

Near Baraṭ the imam had built a residence at Hajra for himself and his followers; he made poor houses and a big mosque, dug a well and surrounded the whole with a wall. A slave named Qarâjama led a raid from Saada and the men of Baraṭ dared not resist. He destroyed Hajra including the mosque and the imam fled to the desert. One of the chiefs threw off his allegiance and cried his desertion aloud/

aloud in the market. Qasim cursed him and he died a day or two later. A second raid had come within a day's march of Qasim's hiding place when the Turks quarrelled. The soldiers made their officers prisoners and plotted to kill the governor of Saada. He was warned and on his guard. He won the favour of his Arab soldiers and sent Abdulla ibn Ali el Muayyadi to the mutineers with the promise to remedy their complaints. Abdulla led them to Sanaa where some were executed and the rest pardoned. In this way god delivered his humble servant the imam.

At the end of 1011 Hasan pasha left Yemen and Sinan received his post.

About X 1010 some men of Hamdân, Ismailia, who had settled in Harâz, tried to capture Masâr an important fortress and an old enemy. The garrison asked help from Ali el Himati and he entered the fort with the men of Thulth who were Zaidia and devoted to the imam. The Turks set great store by this fortress and besieged it for three years and three months when it capitulated.

The whole country except Masâr was now subject to the Turks and the faithful lurked on the borders or hid among the tribes; in spite of the efforts of/

of Sinan and his amirs to track them out. Encouraged by the resistance of Masâr, Haima summoned Ali el Himati to lead them against the infidels. In a little while ibn Shamsuddin and Sa'dân ibn 'Ubaid ar Râshidi of Ashab marched against him. These two met near Radman. Another army from Kaukaban marched from Shahidhia to take the faithful in the rear. Fearing for their families the men of Haima fled and Ali went back to Masâr. A deputation waited on the Turks and immolated an ox before them; their petition was not accepted and all the twenty eight were butchered. The district was covered with Turkish troops. Anxious for their wives and children the men of Haima collected them into the fort of 'Urr. This surrendered after ibn Shamsuddin had given promise and pledge that all within men women and children should suffer no harm. After they had entered the fort Sa'dan allowed his soldiers to make prisoners the women and children seven hundred in number and take them to their camp. All the men had escaped. After strenuous exertions ibn Shamsuddin obtained their release, except forty women with their children who were kept as hostages. This clemency disgusted the Turks who destroyed many strong places in Haima. Two months later Sa'dan joined the besiegers/

besiegers of Masûr who were disheartened at their lack of progress during the long blockade. He rebuked the men of Harâz and Kaukaban for their ill-success and on the day after his arrival ordered a simultaneous attack from several points. The fighting was severe and Sa'dan with many of his soldiers was slain. It is said that during the siege the assailants lost nearly eight hundred men. El Himati heard from Ahmed el Asadi that the imam was in Barat and thought of abandoning Yemen as he had lost all hope of success there. This news determined him to surrender the castle. Sinan sent Dhu 'l-Fiqâr to take over the fort with Ali and all his arms and supplies; I. 1014. All Haraz submitted to the Turks yet in a short time the imam was back in Wâda'a.

THE SECOND RISING.

During his stay in the east the imam kept in touch with those tribes that were well affected towards him and able to stand against the infidels. In III.1014 he decided to go in person to Wada'a to start the wheel of war; for life in Barat was dangerous as the natives were wavering through fear of the Turks. Wada'a had given a promise of words yet they were ashamed to turn him away so at first a few and then all joined him: although their chiefs were captives in Sanaa. About the time of his journey stars fell from heaven like rain.

Trustworthy report says that ibn Shamsuddin asked Qasim to make peace with the Turks, offering him a fief where he would dwell with the rank of amir, and threatening to make his children pay the penalty should he refuse. The imam scorned the joys of this world, promised himself to carry on the war; tricking his enemies with the craft of a fox, springing upon them with the might of a lion. His answer shook the confidence of his enemies. Then followed his appearance in Wada'a.

Another ally joined him for the following reasons./

reasons. After the conquest of Sharaf Abdurrahim made his brother Muhammad his deputy there. He feared the Turks would take the province from him for they coveted the wealth that could be drawn from it. He would not dare to refuse for that would mean war and he was not strong enough to resist. He considered also the people's devotion to the imam; the success god had given him and the fear he inspired in his foes. By an alliance with Qasim Abdurrahim hoped to gain his own ends because he cared nothing for the progress of truth, obedience to the sacred law and the imam. Yet he delayed fulfilling his promises as he thought of the power and wealth of the infidels.

The Turks had troops all round Wada'a; a nephew of ibn Mu'afa in Khamr; the amir Darwish, an Abyssinian slave, in Khashab; and Ibrahim ibn Mu'afa in Ahnûm. Ibn Mu'afa himself who was then governor of Zâhir, Sâda, Zulaima, Ahnum and 'Udhr hurried to Khamr and drove Hasan ibn Qasim out of Dhubîn and then returned to Wada'a. In spite of an initial success of the faithful Wada'a was lukewarm; waiting for Abdurrahim to declare himself while he was waiting for them. Finally he sent his brother Ahmed to Qarâda and Lû'a ; Muṭahhar another brother to Ahnum and/

and Zulaima and other troops to Mt. Jura' and 'Udhr with orders to give all help to the imam and use his name in the public prayers.

After Abdurrahim had declared himself openly the faithful entered the district between Zâhir and Dhubîn where some confused fighting took place. Ali ibn Muṭahhar brought reinforcements from Sanaa but had to surrender under safe-conduct. Ahmed el Asadi returned from Khaulan but the tribes would not follow him so he could do nothing. The Turkish base was Rajwa and during an attack on this place the faithful were defeated because attacked in the rear by the amir Hamuza chief of Daifan. This brought Qasim to Dhubin where he stayed for twenty days.

At the time of the imam's entry into Wada'a Ali el Himatî appeared in lower Yemen. Some time before the Turks had evacuated it, except for a few fortresses, in consequence of a rising of some of the great chiefs of Hîdâ and Ahmed ibn Sha'fal. Indeed this helped Qasim to his success. Hâdi ibn Rauthuddin forsook Kaukaban and joined Ali. Together they entered Shahidhiâ with two thousand men, put a garrison in Shamsân and occupied Tais. Ibn Shamsuddin went to Tawila, sent his army into Shahidhiâ and drove the faithful from Shamsan. For several/

several months there was much confused skirmishing; Ali repeatedly retiring to Haima. In spite of paper triumphs he gained no lasting success.

Ahmed ibn Abdurrahman captured Qarâda and the surrounding districts. Ibn Shamsuddin sent various officers against him but after a preliminary success his troops were worsted and seven hundred men were driven like cattle into the presence of Abdurrahim at Haura. He killed some, imprisoned others and incorporated the rest into his army. Yâqût Fâ 'iq retired from Rurail, was sent to Shahidhia and was there slain. Abdurrahim captured Maswar and Lâ'a as far as Bait 'Udhâqa while his brother besieged 'Uli for a year till it surrendered; after III 1015. Abdurrahim was puffed up by his success and mischievous persons said the imam owed all his gains to him. He even tried to burn a messenger from Qasim. He tied the man to an uprooted tree in the square at Haura and heaped wood round him. As they tried to light the pile the sky clouded over and rain quenched the fire. The messenger's family was imprisoned at Mabyan.

Mutahhar ibn Abdurrahman entered Abraq and received the submission of Zulaima, 'Udhr and Ahnum whereupon/

whereupon Ibrahim ibn Abdulla ibn Mu'afa retired to Shahâra and was besieged there. When provisions gave out they ate their donkeys. Messengers were sent to the imam at Dhubin for they preferred to surrender to him rather than to Abdurrahim. He hastened to Shahara took Ibrahim prisoner, seized five hundred guns and as many swords and let the common soldiers go. The siege was in progress in IX.1014. He ordered the government of Ahnum and visited Wada'a before returning to Zafâr and Dhubin. There he heard that Ibrahim had escaped from Shahara. He had been given in charge to some of the faithful who were ordered to show him all respect. He bought one of the inhabitants with a heavy bribe and left the town at night by a narrow wadi. Dawn surprised them before they reached a place of safety so they hid in a cave. A friend of the imam, one of the Banu Hakam was asked to help in concealing them till night and he told another Hakami Muhammad ibn Zeyad who had helped the imam in his flight from Shahara to Barat. It was agreed to give the necessary supplies to Ibrahim while the news was hurried to the imam. He arrived post haste and, pretending to have no precise information searched the wadis till he found Ibrahim who was taken back to Shahara where he remained till/

till peace was made with Ja'far pasha.

By this time supplies were exhausted in Zafâr. Darwish came to its relief, collected a crowd of tribesmen and made them carry provisions on their shoulders while his troops formed an escort. The town was revictualled but as the Turks were retiring the faithful attacked them and killed ninety three, mostly carriers. This was between Zafar and Dhubin. After a successful skirmish at Madûd the Turks moved their camp to Sayad and the siege of Zafâr was pressed. It finally surrendered to the imam who ordered it to be destroyed.

Mutahhar ibn Abdurrahman entered Shazab and Rurban, seized Sûda and besieged a son of ibn Mu'afa in Qarn en Nâ'a. But he quarrelled with his brother and relaxed his exertions. Ibn Mu'afa seized his opportunity, relieved his son and retook Shazab. He was driven out of Sûda by the united troops of Abdurrahim and the imam under Ali esh Shahâri. Other troops had entered 'Affâr and routed the Turks in the Banu Mauhib. They occupied Jura' and fortified it. Then Sinan sent Dhu 'l Fiqâr against them. The camps were so close that they would shoot from one to the other but no decisive result was obtained so Abdurrahim came in person./

person.

Qasim meanwhile had conquered Zahir and much of Khashab viz. 'Ayal Yazid, Banu Ali, Dhibân and part of Nihm. Fighting continued, mostly round Rajwa, till the faithful quarrelled, the tribes were disgusted thereat and fresh Turkish troops arrived. Our men withdrew to Zahir and the enemy reoccupied Khashab. This was in 1016 probably VI. Then Zahir was evacuated and Abdurrahim proved as helpless as his officers and had to retire to Hajja abandoning 'Affar to the Turks who put a garrison in Zafîr. This place had always been favourable to them as its chiefs were captives in Sanaa. At the same time Ahmed his brother retired from La'a to Mt. Walâ'a so the Turks advanced to Raṣail and in spite of a heroic fight Maswar was given up.

Ismail ibn Shamsuddin made Salâh ibn Mutaḥhar ibn Sharafuddin governor of Tawîla. Now Salâh had hoped to succeed Muhammad as lord of Kaukaban and was discontented with his position so he corresponded with the imam offering to join him on suitable terms and also with the Turks bargaining for the rank of amir. Qasim accepted his overtures and he gained over many of his soldiers to swear allegiance to the commander of the faithful. These doings became/

became known. Turkish troops under Abdulla ibn Mutahhar were sent, ostensibly to help him, and Dhu 'l Fiqar came from 'Affar to join them. While the latter was still on the road the Turks surrounded Salâh in a house in Tawila. Although he had sent for help to Ali el Himati and Abdurrahim and the former was close at hand, he lost his nerve, surrendered on condition that his life was spared and was made pri-

soner. Outside the town Ali was joined by a crowd of Salâh's soldiers including thirty horsemen, they went round the town as they knew there was a party inside favourable to them and then attacked killing seventy Turks. Salâh looked from a window of his prison and in trying to get out fell and broke his back. A soldier cut off his head and took it to Abdulla. At this point Dhu 'l Fiqar arrived. The cavalry tried in vain to stop him and he joined Abdulla. Some of the townsmen joined Ali who went back to Haima and some went over to Abdurrahim. The combined Turkish forces, four thousand strong, held the town 3 IX.1015.

During these events Ridâ-uddin was in Sâ-qûf in Tais whither Abdurrahim had sent him, ostensibly to help el Himati against Kaukabân, really to establish/

establish his own authority there. When el Himati saw that their aims were not his he went back to Haima. Ridâ-uddin became suspect to his chief and after a defeat at the hands of Dhu 'l Fiqar he was recalled to headquarters and put to death. Ahmed ibn Ibrahim ibn Ali ibn Sharafuddin took his place but two days later Tais went over to ibn Shamsuddin so he was sent to Bait 'Udhâqa where Dhu'l Fiqar was attacking. This town was lost. Ahmed stayed in Maswar for a month till the people turned against him when he went to Rurail where Ahmed ibn Abdurrahman joined him at Wa'îla. Under special orders from Sinan Abdulla ibn Mutahhar advanced to Zafîr and raided as far as Mabyan to annoy Abdurrahim by an action in his rear. Dhu'l Fiqar had the worst of a fight at Wa'îla.

Ali el Himati went to Anis where there was much fighting. He had with him eighteen horsemen of the following of Salâh ibn Mutahhar whom Ismail ibn Shamsuddin wished to return to Kaukaban. The imam's permission was asked and as four had already fled to the Turks he allowed the others to go. Six joined Abdurrahim who had them killed. Ismail spent a large sum in arranging their return so, as they desired it, Ali escorted them with five hundred soldiers to Kaukaban. On his way home Ali was persuaded/

persuaded by the chief Qâsim el Juramî to rest at his house. After a meal they all went to prayers in a mosque close by and then the chief invited Ali alone into the house which was fortified and had its own water supply. Some soldiers wished to accompany their commander but he forbade them. Once inside, the host called his guest to a window to see a messenger just come from Kaukaban and then this accursed chief with sixteen men of the Banu 'Amr whom he had hidden in the house, sprang on Ali and stabbed him. The chief had wished to shoot him as he entered the house but the gun missed fire twice. The body was taken out and thrown down the hillside. When his men saw it they besieged the house. Just then arrived Sâleh Hamrân who had been sent at Ali's request as governor of Haima. All the province gathered and blockaded Qâsim el Juramî for three months without effect; then he was allowed to go to Sanaa, promising never to return to Haima. 1. I. 1016. During the siege the sayyid Ali ibn Mahdi el Anisi was robbed of the presents he was carrying from Ismail to Ali. The father of the robber happened to be in Kaukaban and was clapped into prison till the stolen property was recovered. El Himati's kin killed the brother of/

of el Jurami in revenge. It is curious that the house in which Ali was murdered had been built by him for his assassin to replace one destroyed by the Turks.

Ali ibn Ṣalâh el Akwa' was the next governor of Haima.

Sinan called Dhu 'l Fiqar and a representative of ibn Shamsuddin to a conference at Sanaa and afterwards they went to Ruṣail and drove Abdurrahim back to Kaukaban Qudam. Then fighting stopped for a while except under Abdulla ibn Mutahhar against Hajja. Ahmed ibn Abdurrahman attacked Bait 'Udhaga and had a brief success but Darwish drove him back to Maswar where he was practically blockaded for six months.

In IX.1014 the imam had sent his son Ali to Khaulan Saada with one hundred and twenty men of whom fifty had muskets. At Ja'âsh Ali ibn Ibrahim el Haidâni joined him. He and his followers had been living like nomads round about Faish where they were beyond the reach of the Turks. At Mauhira below Haidân a few men from Khaulan joined him but the fear of the Turk lay heavy on the land and no one wished to see the faithful in his neighbourhood. However Muhammad ibn Jerâd ibn Haus invited Ali to his/

his domain at Dhirâ' near Faish; promising him men and money. A detachment was sent near Sâqîn to cut supplies off from Saada but the plan miscarried. The Turks under Qarâjam'a attacked the faithful at Dhirâ'. The camp was without water so, fearing to be hemmed in, they retired to a hill in the west of the Banu Dhuaib. Arriving at dawn they were surprised by the Turks and retired on Faish; but the Turks, went back to Haidan as they had not won the success they hoped. The faithful waited for two days though their only food was flesh and then, on the advice of a chief, they wandered among the Banu Dhuaib; although the chiefs were on the side of the Turks and the tribesmen feared reprisals.

Ali then attacked the market of Zâhir in Hîqûr with a mixed force of his own followers, the Banu Dhuaib and fresh arrivals from Sharaf and the coast. They killed three men and gained a considerable booty. Next he attacked Maḥsân in the centre of the Banu Dhuaib. The Turks had fortified it while the imam was in Barat and the natives detested the garrison and rejoiced at the prospect of destroying it. It was proposed to surrender the fort if the lives of the occupants were spared and the chief joined the imam. The commander however fled so the fort/

fort was demolished. Abundant supplies were now brought to the faithful in 'Urr. By these successes Ali's position was so strengthened that deputations came from all parts with the fitting dues and the Turks were thoroughly alarmed; so they advanced against him through wadi Talh. As the army was climbing the pass the faithful attacked their camp which was only held by the general, the governor of Haidan, and his retainers. A mist covered the advance and the surprise was complete. The Turks fled and many were shot during the flight. The survivors took refuge in a castle from which they were rescued by an expedition from Haidan. The troops who had attacked 'Urr only reached Haidan two days later when the fighting was over. Banu Dhuaib, grateful for their deliverance, gave the faithful all the food they needed. Two hundred more men, half of them with muskets, arrived from Qasim and met Ali at Ja'âsh and after long deliberations he advanced on Nau'a in the middle of Turkish territory in Khaulan; believing the inhabitants would rise in his favour.

The raid was a fiasco. Very few welcomed the faithful, some hid and others joined the Turks. The new governor of Haidan the sharîf Yahya ibn Hâdi, surnamed Father of Fingers because he had six fingers on/

on each hand and six toes on each foot, surprised the raiders driving them off with some loss to the Banu Sawîd who welcomed them as the Turkish arm did not reach so far. Ali then determined to raid Abdulla ibn Ali el Muayyadi who was living among the Banu Jamâ'a, in high favour with the Turks. His approach was betrayed, Abdulla fled and the soldiers pillaged the place contrary to orders for Ali knew the plundering of their goods would prevent the tribes from joining him at that time or later. He threatened to confiscate anything that might be sold to traders. His next move was to Rurâfa and then to Bausân.

This last skirmish moved the Turks to fit out an army from Saada under the lawyer Muhammad ibn Abdulla, the previous governor of Haidan, who advanced to Rurâfa where he was besieged for fifteen days. Relief was on the road so Ali tried to prevent its arrival but failed and retired on Bausân. Here he received letters from Qutâbir from the sayyids of the Banu Yahya ibn Yahya, urging him to join them. There was a longstanding feud between Yahya and Nasr. Nasr had guided the Turks on their march from Saada and suspected Qutâbir of sharing in the plunder of Jamâ'a who belonged to Nasr. Ali acceded to their request but no fighting men joined him and all the food/

food he got was a little corn.

Led by the Naṣr along little known paths the Turks came on him in the morning. He wished to fight but was dissuaded by the natives and retired to the west of Qutabir; leaving the land open to the enemy who wasted it after a little fighting. The faithful marched through the Banu 'Ibād and the Banu Rurban in Khaulan to the Banu Dhuaib and forwarded their taxes to Shahara. Banu Dhuaib were faithful to Ali so long as he remained in Khaulan. They were connected with the sharifs of the family of Hâdi though ignorant and inclined to sufism.

Strife broke out in Mt. Raṣâ; some holding to the Turks while others declared for the imam. These invited Ali to help them as he went to Qillat ul 'awâzim whence he sent for succour to the Banu Dhuaib. The Turks collected troops from Saada Mt. Râzih and Khaulan and surprised the faithful who fled with the loss of twenty men. Ali was too late to help so he retired among the Dhuaib; followed by the Turks. Knowing that his own followers were not strong enough to give battle, while the natives were busy securing the safety of their families and property, he withdrew to the debatable land between Khaulan and the desert. When tired of wandering there/

there he went back to Wada'a to his father VII.1016.

Early in 1016 Sinan heard that he was to be superseded by Ja'far pasha so he tried to arrange a truce with the imam through the good offices of ibn Musafa. This came to nothing. On 19 IV. the new pasha landed in Yemen and in VI. Sinan advised him to come to terms with the imam. This attempt was also fruitless. The pasha then turned to Abdurrahim who had written to him even before his arrival in Yemen. The pasha's envoy was murdered so negotiations with the imam were resumed. In the meanwhile Sinan had gathered his vast treasure and taken it to Mocha where he died 5 VIII. Ja'far seized his property except a trifle which was left for Muhammad ibn Sinan. In XI.1016 there began a ten year's peace between the imam and the Turks. The imam was to hold the territory he occupied; Ahnûm 'Udhr Zulaima Wada'a and 'Usaimât. There was to be free intercourse between the two states and those holding property under both lords should be free to use it without let or hindrance. All prisoners were to be released. At this time the imam's sons Muhammad and Ahmed regained their liberty.

The affairs of Haima were also settled.

It was/

It was agreed to pay to the imam the dues formerly given to the Turks. A general amnesty was granted and the hostages in Sanaa were released.

Muhammad ibn Ali el Qarrâ' wrote to Ja'far requesting him to use his influence with Ismail ibn Shamsuddin to procure the release of his children from Kaukaban and expressed a desire to join the Turks. Ja'far complied and el Qarra' went to Sanaa where he lived with his children till 1023.

It was now the turn of Abdurrahim. Six thousand men from Sanaa and Kaukaban concentrated in Maswar and drove Ahmed ibn Abdurrahman to Wa'îla and then to Haura where Ahmed ibn Ibrahim ibn Sharafuddin was slain 1 IV.1017. They then besieged Ahmed in Mabyan and Abdurrahim fled to Sharaf. Mabyan surrendered with all its treasures including many valuable books and Ahmed was sent to Sanaa. Nâsir el Mahbashi and Muhammad ibn Abdurrahman played the traitor for a price. And in IX.1018 Abdurrahim surrendered the castle of Kuhlân in Sharaf and was sent captive to Constantinople where he died a prisoner. Probably the imam was glad to see the last of a dangerous foe and a shifty friend. At least he kept strictly to his treaty with the Turks.

During the truce which was kept honourably by/

by both parties, the imam's influence grew steadily. Travellers carried the tale of his justice and generosity in all directions and envoys came to him from all parts. A new pasha was appointed and in 1022 Ja'far left Sanaa and Qâsim prepared for war; for several reasons. The truce was a personal arrangement with Ja'far. The new pasha Ibrahim would know nothing of the office of imam and his chief concern would be the extension of his dominions. It would discourage the Arabs if they waited to be attacked. The Turkish officers in the districts bordering on the imam's lands gave him an excuse for war by their hostile acts. They feared the new pasha would renew the truce and hoped to profit at Qasim's expense. Their hopes were disappointed.

Qasim made his son Hasan commander in chief. The first move was against Jura' in 'Affâr whose chiefs had promised to surrender it to the faithful. The army sent was too small and it had to retire with the loss of some of its equipment. Misunderstandings between Qasim and his son also contributed to the failure. Shazab was next attacked. The soldiers advanced to Mausim where the inhabitants united with them and they were reinforced by the troops returned from 'Affar. Advancing into the Banu Hajjâj they overran Suda/

Sûda and besieged the partisans of ibn Mu'âfa in the citadel. Others entered the Banu Ḥabash who opposed them, breaking their promise to declare for the imam on the arrival of his troops. The faithful retired yet the Banu Ḥabash submitted after they were threatened with the wrath of god and of the imam.

The turn of Sharaf came next. Qasim sent his son Ali through Ḥajûr, another son Husain by way of Bûsân and supported them with Ahmed ibn Hasan. Ali entered the Banu 'Uthman half expecting their chief Jirâd ibn Sîrâ^j to fulfil his promise and join him; although he knew the man's worldly mind. Jirâd excused himself on the ground that his promise was conditional; but in the fight that followed he was killed. Some say Ali fired the fatal shot. That night as he lay dying Jirâd acknowledged the imam and confessed his sins. His tribe joined the faithful Sat. 16 III. 1022. The same night Husain reached Hamimat es Sa'dâ and sent a detachment to Qufl Madiûm which they captured. Ali received the submission of the Banu Ka'b and reached Tahnana where Husain joined him with men of Nûsân. United with Ahmed ibn Hasan they besieged Kuḥlan. Nominally the governor of Sharaf was a Turkish aga at Wa'lia but the/

the real power was in the hands of Nâsir ibn Ali el Mahbashi. These saw they could make no stand against the imam so they retired in haste to Muhâbisha hotly pursued by the faithful. Ali stayed two months in Sharaf besieging Qâhira and gained much spoil; a hundred muskets as many swords beside carpets and copper.

Qasim's cousins Muhammad ibn 'Amir and his brother Abdulla with the help of Ahmed el Asadi and others, overran Zahir and besieged the governor Salâh ibn Ahmed el Muavyadi. Then they advanced into 'Aval Yazîd and Muhammad occupied Dhubîn while Kurban declared for the imam.

Qasim's sons attacked Hajja. Husain with Sâlih ibn Nasir marched by Amrûr to Wadra where they won a victory. Then Sâlih was besieged in Dâm to the east of Wadra and was reduced to great straits for it was summer and he had neither food nor water. In their eagerness the Turks suffered heavily for they pressed close to the house and every shot told. Husain hurried from Amrûr and others from Sharâ'ih much to the surprise of the foe who believed the tribes were slack and insubordinate. Their only hope was flight, no two together. Some died in the simoon/

N simoon and the survivors took refuge in Hajja and
 Haura after losing great store of arms. Had the
 besieged known earlier of the arrival of help the
 N Turkish loss had been greater. 'Anas and the Banu
 N 'Akkûb joined the faithful and Husain went on to
 Shamsân.

The next day another Turkish detachment
 under a slave named Sâlim came from 'Affar and were
 defeated outside Haura by Ahmed ibn Hasan. The
 commander with twenty men sought refuge in a house,
 was captured and sent to Shahara. Another party
 besieged near Haura was allowed safe conduct. Thus
 the whole district was won for the imam; except the
 fortresses. On the invitation of the inhabitants
 who, though worldly minded and inclined to favour
 the Turks, were yet of a calculating disposition
 Husain advanced to Ma'dhin and laid siege to Mabyan
 Dhunûb and Kaukaban. The faithful entered Qarûda
 Lâ'a and Maswar and garrisoned Bait 'Udhaga; then
 Ahmed ibn Hasan followed to arrange the government
 and supplies for the troops.

During the events just described Ali sent
 Muhammad ibn Ahmed el Muayyadi with some of his
 relatives to 'Affar. From Qaidân he wrote to Hasan
 ibn/

ibn Qasim for help and Nâ^âir ibn Muhammad - nick-named es Sabh - was sent to his aid. The faithful defeated the Turks at Sabra, killing seventeen and wounding thirty. After some changes of fortune Darwish withdrew to 'Amran, leaving an outpost in Darb el Jadîd. The faithful entered Sabra and invested Kuhlân, taking it after a month. When they heard that Ahmed el Akhram was advancing from Sanaa with seven hundred men they took the opportunity and cleared Darb el Jadîd before he could arrive; thus Kuhlân Ashmûr the Banu A'shab and the Banu Qatîl became subject to the faith. Meantime Ali and Ahmed the sons of Hasan ibn Shurafûddin entered 'Affar. Then the imam compelled their father Hasan to become governor of Kuhlân, his own country; notwithstanding his great age and bodily infirmities he was not allowed to refuse. He ordered the seige of Ashmûr and sent es Sabh to meet Ahmed el Akhram. After the fall of Ashmûr when the garrison were allowed to go free, the faithful gathered near Muda' and routed el Akhram. Ibn Shamsuddin tried to make a diversion by attacking Bait 'Udhaqa but on the arrival of a relieving force he retired. Then Ahmed ibn Hasan went to lower Lâ'a to provide for the needs of the troops./

troops, leaving Zâhir ibn 'Urjash in 'Udhaqa. Some of the inhabitants of Dhûnub plotted to hand over the town to the imam. Husain led his troops through the mountains and introduced them into the town where they shut the Turks up in a house that was too strong to be carried by assault. He therefore allowed them to depart unharmed to Mabyan. None of the faithful would stay in Dhunûb so it remained without a garrison.

A party in Zafîr had treated with Husain but the majority called in the Turks whereupon those in Mabyan reoccupied Dhunûb; disaffection spread among the faithful, due in part to the treachery of Ali ibn Muhammad esh-Shahari. He was ambitious, saw the imam had nothing to offer him so he began to bargain with Darwish from his station in 'Aval Yazîd, meaning to scatter his followers, lay bare the frontier and join the Turks. Darwish promptly entered 'Aval Yazid the gateway to the west specially Shazab, Banu Habash and Zâhir. Panic laid hold of the faithful; most fled to Sharaf or Tais, only Hasan ibn Sharafuddin and Muhammad ibn Sâlih el Kurbani stayed among the Banu Habash. All the newly conquered territory lay open to the Turks who advanced to Darb el Jadîd. Only five men followed Ali in/

in his desertion.

Immediately the imam hurried his son Ali and Ahmed ibn Hasan back to 'Affar with three hundred men. In Qaidân they were joined by Nâsir ibn Muhammad and were then attacked by Darwish with fifteen hundred soldiers drawn in part from Sabra. The fight lasted all Friday and the Turks retired. Sabra was then attacked. Sâlih ibn Nasir was sent to occupy a fort midway between 'Affar and Sabra, one of those dismantled by Sinan. He had neither food nor water and after a brave resistance was captured with fifty of his men and taken to Sanaa. This was a blow to Husain who had made desperate efforts to relieve him. Darwish and Ali esh-Shahari then attacked Husain in Banu Habash but with the help of his brother Ali he drove them off. Ali then moved forward to Thula and Haḍûr esh-Sheikh.

Hasan the commander in chief asked his father's permission to go to Rurban whence he could lend aid to Zahir. It was given on condition that he made Rurban his base and did not stop permanently in Zahir. He advanced as far as Khamr and the Kalbiyun but was hampered by strife among his soldiers. A little to the south the Turks attacked the/

the Turks attacked the Banu Qatîl and Hasan ibn Sharafuddin was forced to leave Ashmûr because the natives declared they were not strong enough to resist the Turks.

During the events just described Ja'far pasha was at Zabîd where he quarrelled with his successor Ibrahim; only making peace by the gift of a large sum of money. Ibrahim started for Sanaa sending on ahead Abdulla Chelebi who had been a trusted servant of his predecessor and now attached himself to the new power. A day's march beyond Dhimar Ibrahim died and his body was taken back to the town and buried there. Ja'far stopped preparing for his journey to Europe and started for the capital. Abdulla Chelebi however feared the anger of the master he had deserted so he claimed to be the representative of Ibrahim and made the Turks in Sanaa take the oath of obedience to him. He recalled Darwish with his army; leaving only garrisons in the forts. He also tried to persuade the imam to refrain from hostilities while he sent his troops to meet Ja'far. The faithful at once occupied the undefended districts from 'Ayâl Yazîd to Maswar. The castles even were captured; Mabyan, Dhunûb, Jâhili Kaukaban/

Kaukaban Hajja and Kuhlan. This last was dismantled. In Tais 'Abdurabb ibn Ali ibn Shamsuddin resisted the faithful who had only eleven muskets among them but was defeated with the loss of a hundred muskets and many stores. Thus the imam's domain reached to Khaulan Sanaa. Meantime the two Turkish armies met between Sanaa and Dhimar. Ja'far used Haidar, one of his officers, as an intermediary and easily won over the half hearted soldiery from their obedience to Chelebi by the promise of increased pay. A number of his officers were executed; among them Ali esh-Shahari who thus lost this world and the next. Ja'far advanced to Sanaa, Abdulla surrendered and was put to death with his chief supporters.

In Haima also the Arabs responded to the call of the imam and expelled the Turk. Ahmed el Asadi and Abdulla ibn Sa'id et Tair came to their aid and advanced, one into Tais and one to Hadur towards Sanaa where the Banu Matar joined up. Two of the imam's officers in Tais quarrelled about the command; Ali ibn Mahdi returned to Haima while Abdulla ibn Hadi went towards Hajja but was treacherously murdered by ibn Ahdal the sufi.

Muhammad ibn Ahmed el ^aMayyadi asked Qasim's permission/

permission to raise the holy war in Khaulan Saada for
 that was his own country and the sphere of his in-
 fluence. He asked no help save powder and shot,
 undertaking to pay the soldiers himself. Qasim was
 unwilling because he was already busy with war in
 various parts of the country and Muhammad would be
 beyond the reach of help. He also feared the Turks
 might crush him, a disaster the effect of which would
 be more than local. Muhammad persisted and the imam
 gave way; sending with him Ahmed ibn Ali ibn Da'îsh
 to receive the taxes and free will offerings. The
 Banu Jamâ'a declared for the imam and Muhammad sent
 his nephew Ahmed ibn Mahdi on ahead to meet him in
 Khaulan; then he himself advanced to the borders of
 Haidan which had promised to join him. The natives
 attacked the Turks at Tûl but as they had neither
 discipline nor leaders they fled shamefully to their
 houses and Muhammad retired to the edge of the
 desert. The governor of Saada ordered the garrison
 in Tûl to retire on Sagin. As soon as they heard
 of this retreat the tribes rose as one man and
 Muhammad hastened to join them in harrying the foe.
 The two Ahmeds came on the scene and cut the road
 to Sagin. The Turks took refuge in a ruin and were
 all/

all captured; the Arabs were set free and the Turks killed. Ahmed ibn Ali ibn Kibâs joined the faithful with his tribe of Sihar and Saqin surrendered; the commander and some of the arms were sent to Shahara.

Then Ahmed ibn Ali ibn Kibas and another chief who had escaped from a Turkish prison marched on Saada accompanied by the sharifs of Jauf from Mt. Dawud. The Turks thought the tribes would never stand against soldiers, especially cavalry but they learnt their mistake. A townsman of Saada made a breach in the wall near the Suwaidan gate and then told the faithful. Four hundred men entered by this breach and the inhabitants joined them. The Turks fled, losing heavily as they ran, to two fortalices, the house of Mutahhar and Mansura where they were surrounded. The city gates were opened and the army entered. The only houses sacked belonged to the soldiers.

The same man who had broken the wall suggested tunnelling into the building where the hostages were confined. Sinan had built this and it was terrible to look on. It held one thousand people, women and children. Those born within it were astonished at the number and variety of creatures and things without. Its only door led into Mansura and none were allowed in by night. Men who wished to visit their relatives were admitted by day and came out/

out at night. It was named el 'Ajmâ. The tunnel was dug and the hostages set free.

Then the attack on the castles began with vigour and ferocity. Now no one feared for his hostages; no one suspected any of favouring the enemy. The garrison soon lost heart and surrendered on condition that they might go to Sanaa with the honours of war; the only things to be left behind were the grain powder and five culverins. The tribes from all round had crowded into the town and the imam's officers grew anxious. The Turks received a promise of safe conduct from the tribes through whose territory their route lay and began their journey accompanied by the chiefs who had guaranteed their safety. Only a short way from Saada the tribes fell on them, slaying and plundering. The amir escaped only because he and the few who protected him were mounted; they succeeded in reaching the protection of the town and army. More than this the army could not do for they were no more than a drop in a rainstorm. Muhammad ibn Ahmed could only rebuke the tribes, report to the imam on their want of obedience and ask him to send one of his sons whom the tribes would respect and fear. So Husain ibn Qasim was sent and disorder ceased. Muhammad ibn Ahmed tried to restore to the amir what had been stolen from him but only partially succeeded. Then he sent him to Abu Arish and by way of/

the Tehâma to Sanaa. TWICE OF 1035

Other successes were the capture of Mt. Râzih and Umm Laila. The garrison of the former was allowed to leave with its private property but they were robbed and many were slain before reaching Abu Arish. Umm Laila was one of the strongest, best fortified and most inaccessible castles in Yemen; it was destroyed by order of the imam. Thus all Saada was brought under the faith; and all Zâhir except Zafâr. Elsewhere, only 'Affar 'Uli and Qarn en Na'i still held out.

When Ali went to 'Affar he left an officer as his deputy in Sharaf but the imam deemed it wise to send his son Muhammad thither (V.1022) to keep order, besiege Kuhlân and send regular supplies to his brother. He made a visit of six weeks to Zafâr which was suspect by reason of its dealings with the Turks and where Ahmed ibn Hasan had caused trouble by his severity in collecting the taxes, and returned to Sharaf VII. remaining there till the Turkish invasion X.

The successes of these months were more apparent than real. The Turks were surprised and at the same time distracted by internal strife. The real fight was now to begin.

TO/

TO THE TRUCE OF 1025.

When Ja'far returned to Sanaa he confiscated the property of Ibrahim pasha Abdulla Chelebi and the other officers he had executed and prepared for war. In IX. he appointed Haidar an amir and sent him to 'Amrân with an army between nine and ten thousand strong apart from the contingent from Kaukaban. Hasan ibn Qasim was then at 'Ilman in Maswar and on the news of the enemy's advance he went by Ashmûr to 'Amran and saw the foe covering the whole plain. As he had only two hundred men with him he returned to Zâfin in Maşâni' where he was attacked by Turks from Muda'. He proposed to occupy Nurash in 'Ayal Yazid but the Turks were there first, so he returned to 'Urta. He tried to plant an outpost at Zâfin but failed, another among the Banu Qatil but Darwish was before him. Then Haidar, rather against his will for 'Urta was easily accessible from the west, surrounded him with lines of troops. All the imam's officers tried to relieve Hasan; Ali from Ḥadûr esh Sheikh, Ahmed el Asadi with Ḥashid and Bakil, Ahmed ibn Hasan from Ḥajja and others from Sharaf and Ahnum; they fought bravely yet unsuccessfully. It is said that a man from Jabar Ḥajja, the standard bearer of Ahmed ibn/

ibn Hasan, gave the signal for retreat; his own followers fled and then the others. Then Hasan, fearing to provoke worse things by a prolonged resistance surrendered after seven days and was taken captive to Sanaa II. Seven of his men hid in a house and were killed when discovered. The faithful were much cast down by this reverse. Ali retreated slowly to the Banu Hajjâj where many fugitives joined him, and Ahmed ibn Hasan to Sharaf. Haidar advanced to Sarâra in 'Ayâl Yazîd.

Husain sent troops from Saada with cavalry from Jauf. They stopped in Khamr till the townsfolk joined the advancing Turks. Ali was pursued into the Banu Hajjâj where many of his troops deserted so he retired to Mudâ'ir in Zulaima after an ineffectual attempt to prevent the relief of Qarn en Nâ'î.

The main body of the Turks, after overawing Zahir and receiving the submission of Hajja 'Afar and the Banu Habash, attacked Sharaf. Ali ibn Muhammad the chief of Hajar acted as guide so the faithful plundered some of his villages. Ali ibn Nâsir, a chief of Muhâbasha tricked Muhammad ibn Qasim, making preparations to join him in Wa'hîa and then finding excuses for delay, to gain time till the Turks should arrive when he provided them with food/

N food, fodder, mutton and ghee. Muhammad was advised to retreat as the tribes were corresponding with the enemy but he refused to do so till he was almost surrounded. A party from Hajar climbed a hill near the town to gain credit from the Turks for their zeal and then lighted a fire that Muhammad might take warning and escape. Guided by Hâdi ibn Dhiâb er Ra'âfi chief of ^{Jabar} ~~Hajar~~ he took the road for Tahnana. Just outside the town there was a skirmish so Muhammad and Ahmed ibn Hasan took the eastern road through the vineyards and reached Hajar after losing one slave. Some Turks plundered Tahnana but this delay allowed Muhammad to escape to Sharâ'ib where Hadi left him, and to continue his road to Ahnum, 15.X. The Turks entered Sharaf and Hajja nearly at the same time.

Then they marched by Khamr on Wâda'a. The faithful drove them off with the help of the tribes, but after considering the strength of the enemy and the timidity of the natives, the soldiers and chiefs with their families retreated to the imam so the Turks occupied the district and then went back to Khamr. Fear took hold of 'Udhr and Ahnum so they opened negotiations. Then the imam left his sons Ali and Muhammad in Shahâra and went to Hajûr 1.XII.

Trusting to the promises of the inhabitants Turkish columns entered 'Udhr from Rurban Wada'a Sûda/

Sûda and Zahir. Then Qasim left Hajur and started for Saada 8.XII. He was at Maur on the road at the feast of the sacrifice. His followers had quite lost heart but he was confident. Ali ibn Muhammad adh Dhimâri surprised him in a ravine praying with many tears and supplications and was convinced that such prayers must be heard, that god would send help. On his arrival in Saada he was welcomed with great enthusiasm for men had feared he would not come to their country. The Turks seized 'Udhr Zulaima and Ahnum but instead of besieging Shahara they prepared to attack Saada.

Some of the chiefs of Wada'a came to Saada and proposed an attack on the Turks in their own country to which the imam agreed. Ahmed ibn Hasan advanced to Bitna but captured as much spoil in horses camels and sheep that he returned to Hûth. Qasim entered Wada'a but was not welcomed as he expected; besides many of the soldiers from the north feared to follow him and returned to Hûth so he was left with a small following. Ahmed too was in no hurry; he wanted to see how fortune was going to turn. Haidar marched in person to meet the imam. Ali ibn Qasim wished to attack him but the men of Wada'a damped the matches so that he could not shoot; and he followed his/

his father to Huth. Near that place they saw an army approaching and believed it was the Turks who had turned their flank by skirting the Sarât. It proved however to be Ahmed ibn Hasan. The Turks ravaged Wada'a and cut down the vines. Qasim went back to Saada and made a pilgrimage to the tomb of his grandfather Hâdi. Then he went to Sâqîn and Haidân leading a wandering life during the first three months of 1023.

After making ibn Mu'âfa governor of 'Udhr and Ahnum Haidar marched for Saada "a desert before him, destruction preceding him, and pride his captain". He entered the town unopposed, Husain ibn Qasim retiring before him. For a month he tried to win over the tribes with money and gifts but they sent his letters to the imam. He on his side, was in communication with all parts of Yemen and was not disheartened by his want of success. His friends pointed out that the tribes were unreliable and void of religion but he did not lose hope. The first promise of success came when a former governor of Saada who knew the country well, was sent on an expedition to Abu 'Arish and thence to Mt. Râzih. Husain ibn Qasim and Ahmed ibn Mahdi el Muayyadi attacked him to the west of the hill and captured his camp with its tents, copper, carpets, treasure, clothes/

clothes and cattle. The commander fled to the coast. The booty, except the cattle, was sent to the imam and the general's tent was pitched for him among the Banu Dhuaib.

Haidar sent four hundred of his bravest soldiers to attack Ali ibn Qasim at 'Aru in the centre of Khaulan. The faithful posted themselves on the Wadi Šabr in the highlands of Saada. Wed. 4 III. 1023 near Bir Ali. A scout was sent forward and the army began the morning prayer. They were alarmed by a shot, for the enemy was too near for the scout to return, and prepared for battle. The Turks were in the west and could not see to aim as the sun was in their eyes while every shot of the faithful found its mark. Another plan of Haidar's miscarried. He sent Ahmed el Akhram to attack Ahmed ibn Hasan at Hadâ'er but Ahmed evaded him and arrived in time to help Ali. Then they turned on el Akhram and besieged him in Hadâ'ir till Friday when help came from Haidar. This defeat shook the confidence of the enemy's allies.

A day or two later Haidar joined el Akhram and the faithful were terrorstricken at the size of his army and the excellence of its equipment. Many deserted/

deserted though they returned when he gave battle. In the hand to hand combat thirteen hundred Turks were slain, much booty captured and Haidar wounded. Recriminations followed between him and el Akhram who fled fearing for his life. He fell into the hands of the faithful who killed him and sent his head and his horse to Ali. He sent the head to his father who passed it on to Shahara to Muhammad who sent it secretly to ibn Mu'afa; the first news of Akhram's fate. Then Ali heard that Darwish was coming to the rescue of his friends and marched to meet him. As the report proved false he went to Rurbân. Meantime the Banu Sihâr had gathered at Talummus where they were discomfited by the Turks. Ali joined in and the battle raged till nightfall. There was much skirmishing and some sharifs from Jauf arrived under Ahmed ibn Muhammad el Akhram. The leaders met to discuss the situation and the enemy seized their chance. Husain and the sharifs were surprised near Rurbân yet, though few in number, they routed a hundred and fifty horsemen. At the same time Ali was engaged in a stiff fight at Talummus. Night alone separated the combatants.

Prompted by these successes Muhammad ibn Qasim/

Qasim sallied out from Shahâra and attacked Husain ibn Abdulla ibn Mu'afa at Sirân. The unbelievers were routed and Husain would not have escaped with his life had not one of his soldiers carried him off on his shoulders while some men from Zulaima connived at his escape; thus preparing for a change of fortune. Wed. III. 1023.

Before the events just related Ja'far made an offer of peace on the same terms as before through Nâsir ibn Ali el Mahbashi but after a long delay the imam refused on the ground that he could not abandon the men of Saada who had stood by him so manfully.

Then Hâdi ibn Abdulla ibn Abi Rijâl entered Dhubîn from Haima and was joined by all whom he met. The fame of his coming spread abroad and the Turks took refuge in the martyr's chapel at Dhubîn where Hadi besieged them. Amir Ali ibn Mutahhar and Yahya ibn Hadi el Muayyadi - the Father of Fingers - marched from Khamr to their rescue. Hadi left his post unobserved, defeated the relieving force and resumed the siege, till the garrison surrendered and were escorted through the Kalbiyun to Khamr. About this time the faithful attacked Wada'a from Murhiba. One of the Turkish leaders was Muhammad ibn Abdulla el Muayyadi/

Muavyadi who had gone over to them a little before and for this once fought against the imam. Haidar joined in the fray and the natives took fright, some joining the enemy, others remaining neutral, so the faithful retired to Murhiba except Ahmed el Asadi and Muhammad ibn 'Amir who stayed in lower Wada'a. Thus the road to 'Udhr and Ahnum remained open to the Turks and Haidar could march to relieve Hajar.

Towards the end of III. Qasin started for Ahnum and wrote to 'Udhr and the 'Usaimât to meet him at Maur. On the road he had a dream and saw one who said to him: - Anxious one, care is banished. God drives it away. I foretell success. He passed close by Qarn el Wa'ar and sent men to seize Haidar's supplies - tents and corn; and then on to Mt Dhura whence he sent outposts to Wada'a and marched to Sirân. Finally he came to Shahara and greeted his son Muhammad. Ibn Mu'afa was alarmed and fortified Hajar. Near Mt Dhura Muhammad captured a hundred Turks and Arabs in spite of ibn Mu'afa's attempt to save them.

Then he moved to Hinwam and was advised to occupy Mudân for the double purpose of silencing the disaffected and preventing the enemy's advance. He was/

was only in Mudân one night when ibn Mu'afa took the opportunity of throwing himself in Hajar with a thousand men but small supplies. There Muhammad blockaded him.

Ja'far sent all the troops he could collect in Sanaa to Wada'a where the tribes were divided in their allegiance. After a number of fights the balance was in favour of the imam. Part of Rurban declared for him; asking, however, help in money. Darwish came from Haidan, through Wada'a to Nurash and the rising collapsed. The imam sent Wâsil with money, four hundred درهم in addition to fifty ounces of silver from his own family to win them over to his side. Wâsil began his business but Haidar appeared and overawed the district completely so the agent saw his task was impossible and went back to Qasim with most of the money. Husain was sent to Wada'a and as Haidar arrived the same night, he hastily retired to Abraq in Zulaima.

In the same month III. Qasim sent Abdulla ibn Hadi the chief of Haidan to Hajûr. After capturing some Turks in the house of Zâhir ibn 'Urjâsh in 'Ahim he entered Sharaf; the governor of which fled to 'Affar and the troops gathered in Kuḥlan and/

and were besieged there. In V. Ahmed ibn Qasim was sent there as governor but as he was still young, Ahmed ibn Da'ish was the real authority. After setting the province in order he pushed the siege of Kuhlān which capitulated VII 1024. It had been a cave of devils and a stronghold of rascals! Then he invested the castles of Hajja.

All the time Muhammad was pressing the siege of Hajar with all possible vigour and much success. Supplies in the town were so reduced that the food had to be weighed out for the soldiers. Then they ate their camels and horses; each man receiving twelve ounces a day. Men deserted daily. When the siege had lasted seventy days they asked for terms. The imam insisted on the surrender of their arms. They refused and wrote to Ja'far, Haidar and other amirs beseeching their help while continuing negotiations with the imam as a blind. Haidar replied by coming to Wada'a; fought an all day battle with the faithful which was decided in his favour by the cowardice of the natives. He forced the road to 'Udhr and opened the way to Hajar.

After writing to 'Udhr to prepare the way he sent Darwish to Hajar with a thousand tried soldiers/

soldiers who were confident of victory; "they thought they had only to meet a lion to master it." Hasan ibn Ali ibn Wahhâb who had deserted the imam and given his wife as a hostage, went with them. He was a young man who cared nothing for the consequences of his deeds and had been a most gallant upholder of the truth. Ibn Mu'afa came out to join them allowing his troops to expect his return. On the arrival of the Turks Muhammad advanced to meet them and the fight soon spread from the cemetery on the north round three sides of the town Sun 13. VI. Then the besiegers forced their way into the town and plundered all the Turkish property. The townsfolk were spared as their chief was on the side of the imam and came to the rescue of his people. Muhammad camped for the night on a low hill beside the watercourse below the graveyard. Next day leaving their wounded and one tent the Turks retreated; the cavalry covering their rear. The faithful pursued, attacking continuously as far as Rârib Ithla near Qarn el Wa'ar where Husain met them. He had been summoned from Abraq by letter and brought a levy from Zulaima 'Udhr and Ahnum. The Turks camped here for the night and this was their undoing for the fear of the/

the imam was on the tribes and all apostates returned to their duty. When the enemy saw they were surrounded they lost heart and, after a hand to hand fight in which even stones were used:- they only fired their muskets once - they fled to a narrow ravine and only a few, whose time was not yet come, reached Qarn el Wa'ar.

The loss of the enemy at Rârib Ithla was eight hundred including Darwîsh and ibn Mu'afa whose heads were sent to Shahara. The spoil was proportionately great. Muhammad at once attacked Qarn el Wa'ar which soon surrendered. The prisoners were driven like sheep to the imam who rid the earth of some scoundrels by executing them and the others were scattered in Ahnum Shahara Sharaf and Khaulân. The officers were kept in Shahara till the peace of 1028. On receiving the news of this reverse Haidar at once abandoned Wada'a and retreated hastily to Khamr.

A good authority says that the imam swore a mighty oath that the house of Mu'afa should fall into poverty and shame, searching the streets for scraps. That their home Qarn en Nâ'i should be destroyed.

As a result of this battle many Turkish posts/

ports abandoned their stations, hotly pursued by the faithful who spread over the country to Zahir as far as the outskirts of Khashab, to the western districts of Sanaa and Anis, Sûda and 'Affar were besieged and though the Turks still held Khamr and 'Aval Yazid fighting there was constant.

Another result was the assault on Saada. Ali was on Mt. Talummus and Ahmed ibn Hasan at Bir 'Ari. They joined for the attack and cut all supplies off from the town. Ali was always in the forefront of the battle till Sat 19 VI. the Turks surprised him. He and his soldiers who were mostly allied tribesmen fought valiantly but the whole two hundred were slain. They flayed his body and sent the head to Sanaa where it remained two years till it was taken to Shahara and buried by the tomb of Ali ibn Salâh el 'Ibahi. His death was a sore blow for he was a pillar of the faith and a sword of god; of pure piety and true nobility, devoted to the exercises of religion and delighting in the holy war. The imam removed Ahmed ibn Hasan from his command, ordered him to live in his own house or where he might choose and replaced him by Abdulla ibn Muhammad el Mihrâthi. Ahmed was disgusted and went over to the/

the Turks who made him governor of Khaulan. However he soon repented and returned to his duty towards the imam who sent him to Khaulan where he besieged Saada for ten months; dying in his camp at Ḥadâ'ir. The Turks wished to kill him but in the dark the assassin made a mistake and stabbed Muhammad ibn Ahmed el Muavvadi.

Then Ahmed ibn Mahdi ibn 'Azzuddin governed well in Khaulan till Ahmed ibn Qasim received the post.

The imam sent his son Husain to Zafir as governor of Hajja Lâ'a and Maswar to collect the taxes; and Abdulla ibn Hadi to Tais. In 'Ilman of Maṣāni' was a troop of ibn Shamsuddin's men who were driven out by Abdurrahman ibn Muntazar with the loss of their arms; Mada' was evacuated by the enemy and thirty five Turks were killed and decapitated in Zâfin. Ashmur was occupied as a support to 'Ilman. In Tais the commanders quarrelled; and ibn Shamsuddin drove them to Shahidhia. Abdulla ibn Hadi then went to Lâ'a to the Banu Mu'awia to the house of ibn Ahdal the ṣūfi. It was far from the scene of war and none expected any violence, specially in the house of the honoured ṣūfi; yet the chief of the Banu Mu'awia murdered/

murdered Abdulla as he sat in his tent and sent his arms horse and insignia to Kaukaban.

In IX. Haidar advanced against Ashmûr and was fighting till the end of X. without making any progress. Then the town thought it a good opportunity to ask for terms. Haidar broke his word & killed or imprisoned most of them. Qasim's troops retired to the Banu A'shub and continued to offer successful resistance.

Muhammad el Qarra' was then sent to Tais. After the battle of ~~Paris~~ Ithla Ja'far had sent him to Khamr with reinforcements for Haidar but on the road he had deserted back to the imam. His first care was to raid the Banu Mu'awia where he captured four hundred cattle, thirty camels and many asses and to destroy the house of ibn Ahdal. In Tais he was joined by Yahya ibn Ahmed el Mikhlâfi with troops from Haima and together they drove ibn Shamsuddin back to Tawîla. However they soon separated; el Qarra' going by La'a to Zafîr. From there he was sent to Masâr and Harâz.

Early in XII Hâdi ibn Hasan ibn Sharafuddin led his Turks forward and made his way into Kuhlân in the morning after the watch was relieved and began shooting. The faithful who were fronting Haidar/

Haidar heard the noise and retired on 'Affar. At Iman Abdurrahman ibn Muntazar was driving the enemy before him when the news of this retreat made him retire past Rurail to Wa'ila. Then the enemy advanced in two divisions and plundered the Banu Dawud and Salaba while the tribes declared themselves free of the imam.

The chiefs of 'Affar turned traitor but Ali ibn Hassan ibn Sharafuddin escaped their agent the chief of A'shab and escaped to Zafir whence he was sent to Haura. Scarcity of food led to a removal of the inhabitants and the soldiers soon went back to Zafir. Husain wished to hold this place as it was a strong fortress so his father made him governor of Sharaf that he might draw his supplies thence. He brought his wife the sharifa from Habur and stayed at this post till the peace. In 1024 a great assault on Haura was planned but failed in spite of troops sent by Ahmed from Sharaf, rather the enemy made some progress. Hajja was attacked IV. but this too was a failure through the defection of the Banu Jabar, due to cowardice or treachery; for they hated the family of the prophet.

After these successes Haidar returned to 'Ayâl Yazîd and attacked Sûd where Muhammad ibn Sâleh was governor for the imam. He had only a few troops/

troops for the country was difficult, the tribes powerful and friendly to religion. However some of them proved faithless and allowed the enemy to get to his rear so he went to Shazab. The Banu 'Abd were next attacked and a company of them was surrounded in a house. Before their powder failed they killed a hundred Turks and then they were cut down to the last man with twenty women and children.

N. All this time Ibrahim ibn Abdulla ibn Mu'âfa was shut up in Qarn en Nâ'i by the faithful who held the villages round as well as the town of Sûda. The Turks advanced to relieve him 1.VII.1024 and one after another the divisions of the blockading army retreated to Rurbân, the Banu Mauhib and elsewhere. During the retreat they killed two men in the rear of the enemy laden with powder and shot and made off with their burden. From Suda the enemy advanced through Shazab against the Banu Mauhib. The faithful fought bravely at Darb el Fa'ishi although one of their generals was very ill and by the help of reinforcements from the imam at Abraq, from Rurban and other places they gained the day. Ibrahim ibn Mu'âfa nearly lost his life through the houghing of his mule Sun 21.VII. Seventy three heads were sent to Abraq and there hung on trees. Then the faithful reappeared/

reappeared before Suda.

At this period Abdulla ibn Sa'îd et Tair was skirmishing with Kaukaban in the districts of Ḥaḍûr, the Banu Shihâb and the Banu Maṭar of which he was governor. The sayyid Ahmed ibn Ali a descendant of the imam Yahya, who was known as esh Shami because he belonged to the Yahya ibn Yahya of Saada, appeared to the east of Sanaa and won a following for the faith. After a time he crossed to Haima where he was appointed governor. He was zealous in enforcing the sacred law, in teaching the prayers to the ignorant and in maintaining order.

After the fight at Fa'ishi an army from Sharaf and Ḥajûr attacked Ḥajja but as they had no leader and no discipline they accomplished nothing. About the same time the governor of Bait el Faqih (N) attacked Abu Zaid ibn Sirâj but was defeated losing heavily in men and material. ^{On} 1 II.1025 Ḥaidar raided Rurbân. The faithful had recovered from their fear of the Turks and grown careless; they kept no fit guard at points that were defended by nature. So Ḥaidar was able to surprise and surround Ahmed ibn Muhammad el Ḥaidâni with his company of thirty men. However Ahmed el Asadi was near and attacked the invaders' camp. When the Turks on the hill top saw this/

this they broke and fled so Haidar lost heavily and retired to Khamr. El Asadi was wounded in the side. A good authority states that Nâsir es Sabh who afterwards claimed to be Mahdi, and his brother accepted money from the Turks to spread disaffection among the faithful. By chance the brother was killed in this fight and the incriminating letters came into the imam's hands.

The governor of Abu Arish raided Mt. Râzih but Ahmed ibn Mahdi el Muayyadi had expected some such move so was ready and the enemy suffered a shameful defeat. Among the slain were some sharifs from Şabya; allies of the Turks.

Ja'far pasha heard that he was to be superseded. He kept the news secret until he had proposed peace. It was agreed to on condition that each should hold the ground he then possessed and the prisoners should not be sent away from Sanaa. Qasim feared lest his son Hasan should be sent to Europe. The truce was to begin 1.VII 1025 and to last a year.

Ja'far who had gathered a great fortune in cash from the estates of Turks who had died during his term of office, left Sanaa, possibly met his successor in Ta'iz and then performed the pilgrimage. Muhammad the new pasha stayed for a long time in/

in Ta'iz, alleging that he expected his son with troops from the north, though it is believed he was busy extorting money: for he was poor. He ratified the truce.

Early in 1024 the imam had sent el Qarrâ' to Anis. He was called in shortly after to help the chief of 'Arrâs for the Turks were trying to rouse Ismailians of 'Aniz Haima and Haşabân against the imam and thus isolate him completely. Their emissary traversed Tais Hufash and La'san where his endeavours prospered and then strife began; trees were cut down, fields wasted and cattle killed. Then el Qarra' was called in. As he had only a few followers and the chiefs were jealous of each other this move came to nothing and he was glad to get safe conduct to Haşabân. At the head of a thousand men the Turk attacked the Banu 'Arraf and the chief of 'Arras, despairing of help from the imam, turned to the Ismailians; he did not know that god decides not armies. The Turk was driven to leave the district but the tribes of Masûr shut him up in Zafâr and besieged him for two months. Fearing the vengeance of Sanaa chiefs and people decided to appeal to the imam; so el Qarra' again entered the district and the Turks evacuated it. The Shafe'ites and others joined el Qarra' who crossed Mt. Hutab and occupied Masar

1.V.1024. There he was joined by his family from Sanaa.

The pasha's absence from Sanaa was bad for the discipline of the army; especially in districts bordering on the imam's domains. Pay fell in arrears and in some places the men robbed their officers. In Khaulan the Banu Sihâr rebelled and stormed Saada by means of ladders, shutting the governor in Mansura and Dar Muṣṭahhar. Seeing himself cornered he wrote both to the imam, asking him to quiet the disturbance and to Sanaa. The imam sent Ahmed ibn Ali ibn Da'îsh who contrived an arrangement between the Turks and the tribes. The Turks were to stay on in their castles and to receive every day from the market as much food as was necessary but none more. In II 1026 some of the tribes who had been the most eager supporters of the Turks, broke the peace and plundered Mansura. Then the Turks were allowed to go under safe conduct and finally they reached Sanaa by way of the Tihâma and Tais. With them went Yahya ibn Hâdi Father of Fingers.

Thurs.14 IV.1026 Hâdi ibn Abdulla ibn Abi Rijâl went to the 'Uzaimât to punish the people of Mt.Ramid for highway robbery but the news of his coming/

coming had gone before him and his prey escaped. He could only seize a few lambs and oddments. Above Hûth on his return, he was kept in talk by the townsfolk till his followers had gone on when some 'Uzai-mât fell on him from an ambush and murdered him.

He had great influence among Hashid and Bahil and was of noble and generous character.

He was sent to be governor of Zabih in plain cowardice his troops fled from the enemy and he went to Dhuhûl where he collected the taxes, including the sacred tithes, and spent part on himself and his friends. As soon as the truce was over 'Asad al-'Asudi went to Mihz in Khoulân and as far as Dhahar calling on the tribes to help the faith. He captured much booty but in Khoulân the tribes made no move as they had been corrupted by Turkish money. In their fear of al-'Asudi the Turks had to increase their gifts.

Qasim had made all his preparations and on 1.VII.1026 his troops moved, entering Qudûs the Barmakids and Janah from several directions at once, and occupied these districts except the fort of Atrâs which was garrisoned from 'Ayal Yaxid and Sâid where Hâdi Ibn Mûsâ was in command. The Turks made Sarâr in 'Ayal Yaxid their base because it commanded the road.

THE SECOND TRUCE 1028.

Muhammad pasha tried to extend the truce but as he required the cession of Haḍûr of the Banu ~~Shihâb~~ Shihâb which was unpleasantly near Sanaa the imam would not agree and the negotiations failed. The amir Masîn ibn Mutahhar el Hamzi came over to the imam and was sent to be governor of Zâhir. In plain cowardice his troops fled from the enemy and he went to Dhubîn where he collected the taxes, including the sacred tithe, and spent part on himself and his friends. As soon as the truce was over Ahmed el Asudi went to Nihm in Khaulan and as far as Dhamarmar calling on the tribes to help the faith. He captured much booty but in Khaulan the tribes made excuses as they had been corrupted by Turkish money. In their fear of el Asadi the Turks had to increase their gifts.

Qasim had made all his preparations and on 1.VII.1026 his troops moved; entering Qudam the Banu Habash and Janab from several directions at once, and occupied these districts except the fort of A'râm which was garrisoned from 'Ayâl Yazîd and Said where Hadi ibn Hasan was in command. The Turks made Sarâra In 'Ayâl Yazîd their base because it commanded the road/

road to Sanaa and from it and from 'Affar they attacked the faithful. In one village it came to street fighting Tu 13 VIII and the best troops of the Turkish army fled; at which reverse the others lost heart. Then Hadl surrendered Said. Sinan had destroyed this place but a son of Hasan pasha had rebuilt it in part. Qasim put a garrison in it and provisioned it.

Before the imam raided Janab the Turks had attacked Ḥaḍur and so overawed the tribes that some submitted to them in spite of their devotion to the faith. Abdulla ibn Sa'îd et Ṭair withdrew to strong positions among the Banu Maṭar and the enemy could neither advance nor retreat. Their artillery allowed them to make a little progress but in bombarding Qadhaf the cannon burst and though they forced their way into the streets they were driven out again Th. 27 IX. and pursued to their camp. Here the chief of Qadhaf, a valiant soldier of the faith, was slain. The enemy tried bribery but their agent had to flee in disgrace and their five hundred men of Anis left them notwithstanding their fierce hatred of the imam.

4 X. Qadhaf was again attacked without success; yet Abdulla et Ṭair was killed by a bullet. He had been a sword in god's hand, a tower of strength to/

to his friends, steadfast amid alarms, keen to fight the foe, cool before terrible odds, persevering in the holy war, chaste and noble. His relative Ahmed el Asadi had trained him. His followers acclaimed his son as his successor and Qasim sat him in his father's place. His fame was already known to friends and foes.

Late in IX. several corps of the faithful entered Hajja. One attacked Shamsân but was repulsed at the gate by a raid from Jâhila. From Darwân another kept Qudam in check. Th.29 IX. Abdurrahim had destroyed this fort in 1006, so the faithful threw up earthworks and blocked the roads. From Haura the Turks made several raids but at the end of X. they were shut in on all sides by the occupation of Wa'îla. The men of Kaukaban who guarded it retired to Rurail.

Tu 24 X Ma'dhin and two other forts capitulated to Husain, those of the garrisons who favoured the Turks going to Mabyan and Kaukaban Qudam. This cleared a considerable district of the enemy and was of great advantage to the faithful. After the defeat and death of Abdulla et Tair a great effort was made to relieve Haura. From cowardice the faithful abandoned Wa'îla and the relief succeeded. Su 6 XI. the Turks raided Zafr of 'Abs and were severely handled.

In/

In his report to his father Husain said fifty heads were cut off. The effect in the neighbourhood was good. Tu 21 XI. we invaded Qarâda and Lâ'a and without much difficulty defeated the Turks and their allies from Kaukaban. During XII. fighting went on in 'Ashma the district of the Shafe'i lawyers.

Nâsir ibn Hamza es Sayyâd, chief of Dhaifân quarrelled with the Turks and came over to the imam who treated him with the greatest respect and set free a kinsman of his who had been captured at Rârib Ithla. The Turks promptly raided his domain so Nâsir retired to Sayad where help from the imam, money and munitions. met him. A big expedition was prepared from Saada and Sharaf against 'Ayvan, 3 X. the imam left Shahara on this errand, travelling by 'Udhr to Sufyân where he was met by the Banu Sihâr and ninety horse from Jauf. 'Ayvan shortly surrendered and was destroyed.

Then Qasim proposed to attack Khamr and with this end in view made a tour through Zahir Khaiwan and Wada'a where he kept the great feast. Then he made a pilgrimage to Zafâr to the tombs of the imams Mansurbilla Abdulla and Mahdi ledimilla Ahmed to encourage the tribes. At this time he was corresponding/

corresponding with the pasha about a truce which did not come off as he insisted on an exchange of prisoners. At the end of 1026 Ahmed ibn Dawud el Anisi wrote that nearly all his tribe who had forsaken the Turks were ready to join the imam. Next month Husain el Qû'ifi and his brother Muqbil wrote to the same effect. Hedâ then attacked these new allies but suffered a signal defeat. About the same time Mutahhar ibn Abdurrahman cleared La'a as far as Tais of the soldiers of Kaukaban. He showed himself an excellent governor in his management of the troops, the collection of imports and in contenting the people. Ahmed es Salafi entered Maswar but ibn Shamsuddin drove him from Bait 'Udhâqa to Rurail and then to Lâ'a.

At the end of 1026 the faithful from Haima entered Tais and mastered Shahidhia though ibn Shamsuddin opposed them manfully. Meanwhile the imam was in Wada'a urging the men of Saada to join the fight.

IV. The sharîfs were lukewarm for many were absurd enough to fancy that Saada belonged to them by right of inheritance. The Turks seized their opportunity and attacked. The sharîfs were compelled to recognize their own weakness and return to their allegiance to the/

the imam. Their leader was put in prison in Ahnum but soon escaped. These men always opposed the imam and obeyed Satan, as the saying goes, more submissively than his shoe.

On the arrival of the troops from Saada the imam marched on Khamr and took up his position in the wadi Dammâj. Panic seized some of the army and they bolted. The remainder though attacked by the whole of the enemy, made good their retreat with trifling loss. Nasir ibn Ahmed edh-Dhaifâni joined the Turks but was no great loss to the faith. This battle made those Arabs under Turkish rule hesitate to join the imam for their motive was selfish interest and delight in strife rather than love of religion.

The Turks sent Qâsim el Jurami to Haima to win over the tribes to their side. He had some success in his mission and contrived that Ahmed Shami who distrusted him should be recalled and another made governor in his stead. He wished to make his own the fort of Yanâ' which belonged to the Banu Sivâr. Wishing to protect their own territory, these appealed direct to the Turks who were welcomed even by some whom the imam had trusted and honoured. One chief took with him the banner and drum presented by Qasim/

Qasim. He was received with all honour but in a short time he was stripped of all he possessed, bound in prison and five years later executed. The imam had cursed him. The faithful naturally abandoned Tais as their base of supplies was Haima.

When the pressure on Tais was eased ibn Shamsuddin concentrated against Mutahhar ibn Abdurrahman who was besieging 'Uli. A little before he had offended his men by his severity in executing a man for some small offence and many had deserted; so some of the troops abandoned their posts and Mutahhar, who refused to retreat, was captured with most of his command except Abdulla el Anisi a religious who refused to surrender and died a martyr after killing four of the enemy, IV. 1027. This defeat destroyed all discipline and the faithful fled to Zafîr. Ahmed ibn Muhammad es Salafi rallied some of the troops and retreated leaving garrisons in Mt 'Amr Dûr and Ma'dhin. Seven days later one hundred and fifty men of Jabar Hajja went over to the foe; a disgraceful act quite in accord with their traditional character, due to their excessive timidity. A general move back to Zafîr followed. The Turks then entered Janab 22 V. and as the natives were busy caring for the safety of their/

their families the faithful put up a stout fight before retreating. Qudam was next occupied the troops going to the Banu Harith and the Banu Ali. The massed forces of the enemy then attacked the Banu Ali and shut up our men in a fort. The imam made strenuous efforts to relieve them. After one failure his son Muhammad inflicted such loss on the enemy that the beleaguered garrison escaped while they were busy with their wounded. VI. Nevertheless the Banu Ali were ravaged..

In Haima the Turks were defeated and then the whole country remembered its agelong devotion to the imam and rose in his cause. There was much fighting mostly in his favour. In 18 XI. the Turks from 'Urr raided Ahbûb but were defeated and surrounded. In the fight Ali el Muqri an Ismaili from Harâz was killed; he had more influence than any of his sect. The enemy offered to surrender everything if their lives were spared. This offer was not accepted. An attempt was made from Sanaa and Kaukaban to relieve them 12 XII. but it was defeated and two hundred were killed. Again they tried to make terms and again met with a refusal. Another attempted relief Wed 13 II 1028 also failed. The standard bearer was killed and the flag worth sixty حز was taken./

taken. Then 'Urr surrendered. They were allowed to keep their arms on condition that Yanâ' was handed over; their^{se} terms were thought highly advantageous to the imam.

In XII 1027 two comets appeared and were visible for the space of two months. These were followed in VIII. IX. and X. 1028 by drought and famine specially in Sanaa Wâda'a Jaur Barat Saada and the north. Many left their homes to wander in other districts; crowds came to the imam and were fed by him. Sickness followed and many perished. Another serious famine lasted from VIII to XI. 1029.

In VII 1027 Ahmed ibn Qasim went to Saada as governor. The tribes had grown rich in weapons and refused to obey Ahmed ibn Mahdi any longer. The prestige of the imam's son flattered their vanity and he soon restored order and made the roads safe from the brigands of the Âl 'Ammâr who had not spared Saada itself.

In V.1028 peace was made for a period of ten years; the contracting parties to hold the territory they actually possessed. The imam's lands lay roughly in four groups. In the north Saada; in the centre Sharaf of Wâda'a and Shahâra; in the south Haima 'Âniz and Harâz (here the population was mixed/

mixed partly Shafi'i and partly Zaidi) and in the east Sayad Zâhir and Khashab. Khamr and the Kalbiyun belonged to the Turks. Two hundred prisoners were released by the Turks and three hundred by the imam after he had given them presents.

N. He then went to Uqr and 20 V. entered Shashara in state. Though mounted he could hardly make his way through the crowd to the mosque. As it was a time of distress he commanded to feed the poor and helpless. They say that one night eight hundred women and children received food; apart from those who ate at his table. This lasted all IX. Shashara was dry and barren but on that day rain fell and continued afterwards. 9 VIII there was a bad earthquake, three shocks; many people were killed in 'Udhr and in Saada the Dar Mutahhar split.

N. At the end of the year Nâsir ibn Muhammad es Sabh proclaimed himself the Mahdi and opposed the imam in Haima and its neighbourhood. Qasim made it known publicly that the sign to which the pretender appealed was a natural discolouration of his hair. He had no success, was imprisoned in 'Urr but escaped by the help of the natives. At first the Turks were alarmed as they thought this was only a trick of the imam's to break the truce. They soon/

soon learnt the real facts and captured Nasir's base with its troops and supplies; although he had called the tribes to his aid and had slaughtered cattle for their leaders. This was in VI. 1029 after the death of the imam.

On 4 III.1029 died the imam Mansur billa Qasim. The sayyids lawyers judges and the party met and decided than an imam was necessary and that Muhammad ibn Qasim was the man. They told him of their decision as he was laying out his father's corpse. He bade them choose the best man of the prophet's house and he would be the first to support him and would hand over the public monies in his care. The judges testified in the sight of god that Muhammad must accept the post. He then gave in and they and after them all in Shahara, did him homage. He gave orders about his father's burial and wrote to the pasha that personally he desired to continue the peace. The family of Mutahhar also wrote from Saada to assure him of their fidelity.

Muhammad was tall and handsome; kind to all who approached him. Orphans children and the poor came to him gladly and he did them justice in his council; often remaining all day in the audience hall, rising only for prayer. He was a good judge of/

of character, never forgetting a face he had seen, willing to show kindness and patient in bearing injury. He was brave and generous; giving to the treasury a third of what belonged to him. He took the title of Muayyad billa.

In XI.1029 Dawūd ibn Muhammad a lieutenant of Ahmed ibn Qasim raided the disaffected near the lands of ^{Abu} ~~the~~ Zaid ibn Sirâj. The raid was successful though on their return they were attacked by bedouin and Dawūd barely escaped with his life. Next month the Banu Bahr of Saada rebelled under Mahdi ibn Hadi who had written to Ahmed some time before giving a hint of what was in his mind. The tribe soon returned to their allegiance.

In IV. 1031 Muhammad pasha left Sanaa to make way for Ahmed Fadli. He died at Mecca on his way to Constantinople. His son was in charge of his treasure and had reached Yanbu' where his soldiers murdered him. The sharîfs had his property brought back to Mecca and provided an annuity for his widow who decided to live there. Idrîs was then sharif.

The Turks had always refused to exchange Hasan ibn Qasim and guarded him strictly. He prepared to escape. His first move was to buy a slave girl and his guards left him at night in his room on the third/

third floor. He was allowed a saw to repair some furniture and made holes in the three floors and in the house wall. His goods and family - five women, a boy of two years and an infant girl who died on the road - left the town on camels. This was easy as the beasts were wont to fetch fodder from the royal domain on the Kharid. He bought a horse, ostensibly as a present for Ahmed Fadli who was then at Ta'iz and a servant exercised it every day outside the town. When all was ready ropes were smuggled in to him and on Tu 7. VI. 1031 he left the house and prepared to cross the rampart. A cat was prowling at the point they had to mount and a sentry threw stones at it from time to time. They had to wait till the guard was changed and the new sentinel fell asleep. The cat was providential as it showed them the guard was awake. The horse was waiting beyond the wall and Hasan made his way first to 'Ayâl Abdulla where he was joined by many from Zâhir and elsewhere and then to Hajr in Ahnum where he met the imam. His entry into Shahara was a triumph for a great concourse from the whole countryside had gathered with presents to do him honour.

When the pasha reached Sanaa he wrote to the imam proposing to uphold the truce and said he had/

had intended to release Hasan. All that had been left behind in Sanaa, also the price he had paid for his house there was restored to him. However he had the guard who should have watched Hasan, strangled and impaled.

On the feast of Bairam Ahmed went outside Saada at the head of his troops in full war panoply to repeat the festal prayers. After the service a quarrel broke out between the Banu Sihar and troops from the south; because these latter had been specially favoured in a largesse. The chiefs were dining with Ahmed and the men of Khaulan who had nothing to do with the quarrel, plundered a few houses near his residence. The town however was saved. Tranquillity was restored and it was agreed that the casualties of our party should be counted against those of the other while for any excess the treasury should pay the blood wit. There was another quarrel about this time between Wada'a and the south; eight were killed. The result was that the tribes refused to obey Ahmed and to pay him the taxes and talked of going over to the Turks. So in III. 1032 Hasan was sent to Haidân with a thousand foot and thirty horse. He promised the mutineers pardon and safety. As some refused his terms he attacked them at the pass of Hai, destroyed/

destroyed the houses of the ringleaders and captured much booty. The fighting lasted from 24 to 26 of the month. By this time Ahmed had come from Saada to Sâqîn and the whole district was pacified. The two brothers met at Wasaha in Hai 13.IV. The mutiny was the more easily suppressed because Qasim chief of Hai broke his leg and was carried by his friends to the Banu Bahr. Much of this information is taken from a report by Yahya ibn Lutfulbari.

In IV. Ahmed pasha went to Ta'iz on his way to Mocha, giving out that he would attack the European ships, but he merely laid hands on a large sum of money and went back to Sanaa. In VII. Nasir es Sabh left Anis secretly and went to Shâtib and Hûth and there summoned the tribes to follow him as the mahdi; promising to show them the hidden treasures of the earth. Husain appeared in Zahir and Nasir's mission came to nothing so he remained in hiding. Then he showed himself among the 'Usaimât where he met with some recognition. In XII the imam entered Wâda'a with a big army, raised the tribes of Zâhir and Khaiwan and advanced on the 'Usaimat. These acknowledged him and drove out Nasir: yet the Turks were able to occupy one or two forts they had not/

not held before.

In IV. 1033 Ahmed pasha made a progress through Dhimâr Ta'iz and the Tihama and died in Abu Arish 23 VIII. By his extortions he had accumulated a vast fortune and they say that complaint was made to the sultan about him. The soldiers in charge of his money had a difference of opinion and one officer took some of the property to Şabya where he was killed in a quarrel. Ahmed's deputy sent Muhammad ibn Sinan to bring the treasure back. After some diplomacy he brought the men and money to Ta'iz where the new pasha put him to death together with several officials and chiefs.

On 7 IX. came the news of the appointment of his successor Haidar who arrived in II.1034 and desired to observe the peace. The imam consented as he knew well the disaffection of the tribes and their impatience of his even-handed justice.

When Khaulan had quieted down Hasan remained in Saada and after consultation with the imam he invaded Faifa 15 IV.1035, with Yahya ibn Lutfulbâri, Ali ibn Hasan - Khiḍr - and Muhammad ibn Ahmed as his lieutenants. He advanced through the Banu Bahr to Bausan and sent Ali and Yahya to the Banu Mâlik in Faifa many of whose chiefs joined them. They occupied/

occupied 'Ashsha the key to the higher ground and defeated the natives. After a stay of two days food ran short and as they received neither supplies nor orders the soldiers decided to plunder Sarbân the inhabitants of which were strangers from Hali. The raid was not at once successful; for some auxiliaries of the Âl Âli found that the villagers claimed to be of their tribe and therefore deserted. However Yahya arrived with reinforcements and the village was taken. The Âl Âli took advantage of Yahya's absence to attack 'Ashsha, without success; they then made peace.

Yahya then joined Muhammad ibn Ahmed among the Banu Khâlid; only just in time for two thousand six hundred men attacked them under cover of a mist. The assailants had no muskets and though they fought well with javelins and slings they were beaten off. The faithful ravaged Taifa gathering much booty; cattle sheep corn and plenishings. Then for a fortnight rain fell and broke down the roofs of the houses and even the floors. The tribes surrendered, asked what duties they owed the imam and begged that the soldiers might be scattered through the country to collect the taxes. Muhammad agreed though he was warned to keep his men together till the fidelity of the new subjects was assured. He sent out three parties/

parties of eighty men apiece Th 29 V.

Yahya visited the Aitâm and Âl Harb and allowed them to come singly or in pairs to bring their dues; though as he feared treachery, he was on his guard and kept the chiefs by him. They wished him to camp in a deep ravine but he refused and stationed his men in fortified hamlets; in Kadra and on Mt.Hijr. At night they were attacked. The assailants fired the defences and the houses. Here the faithful cut loopholes in the walls and fired by the glare of the conflagration; there they had to leave a blazing house and fight their way through the enemy; there again the foe climbed on the roof and fired down on the defenders. When morning came the faithful had lost eight men and their opponents forty one. Yahya himself was not attacked because he kept the chiefs as hostages. With daylight the faithful took the offensive, scattered the enemy and then returned to 'Ashsha Sat.1 VII.

The men of Faifa had wished to attack the town but their chief had dissuaded them by threatening to join Hasan. Raids were then organized against the rebels in which some of the men of Faifa received badges to mark them off from the insurgents. One of these raids reached the Tihama.

Ahmed/

Ahmed ibn Mahdi el Muayyadi the governor of Râzih arrived and captured three thousand head of cattle from Wada'a. The chief of Şabya claimed the cattle as his. With difficulty a fight was avoided and it was decided that a thousand animals should be ransomed at a حرق a head. The faithful obtained provisions by raiding Mt. Hizr for it was a time of scarcity in Khaulan. 17 VII. Hasan withdrew his troops to Bausan in the Banu Jamâ'a; gave presents to the chiefs of Faifa and took securities from them.

The Banu Mâlik and Faifa belong to no sect of Islam and are like cattle though they know it not. They neither pray nor fast nor give alms nor go on pilgrimage nor study the Quran; in fact they are heathen though they call themselves Muslims. They know not the sacred law for they have no teacher. They have no marriage rite. If a man is enamoured of a woman he follows her wherever she goes and commends himself to her till she loves him. Then he approaches her family and if they are agreeable he lives with her till she is with child when the marriage price is fixed. This is their marriage. Should a guest come among them they show him great honour and/

and provide a woman to share his couch; it is immaterial to them whether she be a virgin or married. There was a sorcerer in Faifa who undertook to make men proof against bullets. The tribes believed him and suffered heavily from our fire.

only to find an excuse for breaking the peace. III. the chiefs of Hadd and Shaulan asked his protection against the Turks who were planning their ruin. He talked about the sanctity of treaties but only as a blind. To Haina he sent his brother Hama with a big army well equipped with all supplies. His road lay between Hadd and Haina where the Turks courteously gave him passage. In Hadd he was joined by the tribes who clearly understood that war was intended though he insisted that his was merely a peaceful visit of inspection. He reached Haina Sat. 10.1.1934. On 18 Haddar had left Haina to strike at Hadd and this gave the Imam his chance. On 19 Ahmad ibn Qasim left for Zahar and entered Khayr on the Monday where all the neighbouring tribes gathered round him. He observed Ahmad and entered Hadd 18.1.1934 while Abdul CAPTURE/ Amir occupied Ashmud. The men of Hadd asked help as they feared the family of Mu'ata so the faithful occupied the town when several men- bers/

CAPTURE of SANAA.

By the end of 1035 the imam had decided to break with the Turks. Many letters passed between him and Haidar pasha and it is clear that he sought only to find an excuse for breaking the truce. 15 XII. the chiefs of Hedâ and Khaulan asked his protection against the Turks who were planning their ruin. He talked about the sanctity of treaties but only as a blind. To Haima he sent his brother Husain with a big army well equipped with all supplies. His road lay between Hafâsh and Tais where the Turks courteously gave him passage. In Harâz and Masâr he was joined by the tribes who clearly understood that war was intended though he insisted that his was merely a peaceful visit of inspection. He reached Haima Sat. 19 I. 1036. On 18 Haidar had left Sanaa to strike at Hedâ and this gave the imam his chance. On 19 Ahmed ibn Qasim left for Zâhir and entered Khamr on the Monday where all the neighbouring tribes gathered round him. He observed 'Amran and entered Hadûr 19 II. while Abdulla ibn 'Amir occupied Ashmur. The men of Sûda asked help as they feared the family of Mu'âfa so the faithful occupied the town when several members/

members of the ruling family joined the imam though Abdulma'min held Qarn en Nâ'e. Then 'Affar declared for the faith under Hâdi ibn Hasan ibn Sharafuddin who had been a servant of the Turks but now turned to god and his imam. He was made governor of Kuhlan Tâjuddîn 'Affâr Janab and the Banu Habash and received a horse two muskets and a jewelled sword as presents. Ali ibn Abdulla el Qasimi and Wajihuddin entered Hajja. Dhunûb opened its gates and the Turks took refuge in the other fortresses, Mabyan Jâhili and Kaukaban. In face of a concentration of the faithful the Turks in Wa'îla felt the land too narrow for them and retreated abandoning Maswar as far as the wadi Lâ'a.

Hasan ibn Ali^{ibn} Hajjâf was made governor of Hajja and his men occupied Zeyâda within gunshot of Jâhili and began to intrench themselves. The Turks made a fruitless attack from all these fortresses and twenty men from Jahili deserted keeping their arms to use in the imam's service. It is said that two broke faith. About this time the troops of ibn Shamsuddin were severely defeated, the survivors escaping to 'Uli. From Haima el Qarrâ' drove the enemy out of Hufâsh and Milhan capturing their officers and freeing/

freeing the hostages.

The tribes of Khaulan assembled at Ḥaḍûrim, attacked Maswar and captured the Turkish commander a lieutenant of Husain ibn Nasir el Hamzî ibn ul Qâ'ifia. He was released but his horse was given to the chief of Hidâ, Umar ibn Ali ibn Falâh to replace one killed at 'Arûs. A week later Khaulan and Hidâ advanced on Lauz capturing four thousand sheep, fifty camels and two hundred cattle. The district acknowledged the imam. On learning this a section of Hidâ who were fighting under ibn ul Qâ'ifia deserted and raided Dhirâ' el Kalb. At Husain's orders a combined attack was made from Ḥaima on Ḥaḍûr the Banu Maṭar Raima and Anis. Raima tendered its submission as did some tribes from near Dhimâr. Most of the fighting was at Nimâra which the foe evacuated and at Lauz where ibn ul Qâ'ifia was defeated.

Hasan ibn Qasim left his son Muhammad as his deputy at Saada and went to Dhubin with three thousand foot and a hundred horse - among them some sharifs of Jauf - and after a delay of five days in Ḥâshid and Bukîl, advanced to Nihm where he was well received. Mt. Lauz surrendered and ibn al Qâ'ifia fled. Good news came from all sides. Ḥaidar pasha was defeated outside Sanaa; eight hundred men were campaigning/

campaigning in Raima; in Anis the fugitive Turks were closely besieged in Nimâra; the Banu Maţar expelled the foreigners and held the country as far as Wa'lan. Hidâ reported successes from Dhimar, and asked for reinforcements from Hasan. Sinhân was occupied thus cutting Dhimar and Anis off from Sanaa. A thousand Turks from Wasâb and neighbourhood were trapped in the desert and scattered. The reduction of the enemy strongholds went on gradually; the amir Sunbul was defeated near Dhirâ' el Kalb and besieged there. The Turks wished to send two caravans; one from Sanaa to Yemen and the second to the capital. Ahmed el Asadi and Hidâ tried to capture them. The first arrived safely though it had to fight; the other was taken near Dhimâr by Umar ibn Ali of Hidâ; one hundred and fifty loaded camels and two hundred laden cattle.

Ahmed fought successfully at 'Amrân though Hashid and Bakil laid complaint against him before the imam. while protesting their own loyalty and emphasizing their services. Husain ibn Ali ibn Hajjâf captured and destroyed Zafr near Hajja yet harmed neither woman nor child. The town of Thula surrendered but as the citadel still held out the garrison could harm the townsfolk by shooting into the streets. The/

The chiefs of Tais called in the faithful who with the Banu Dhurad advanced from Maswar to the Banu Habash and Sâqûf whereupon several Turkish officers deserted to them.

Alarmed by these successes Lauz - so long an eyesore to us - surrendered. It was a strong fortress. the key to the lands beyond, well stored with provisions; wheat and barley, raisins ghee and oil, also powder and shot to last the faithful many months.

War was raging all over the centre and south. As far as possible we will consider the districts separately. The Tihama.

Muhammad ibn Ahmed es Salafi entered Bura' and the land as far as Bait ul Faqîh welcomed the imam. As the Turks were on their ^{way} south after abandoning the forts of Raima they were waylaid by the Mu'âziba and the survivors took refuge in Zalamlam II. and III.

Et Taqi ibn Ibrahim en Na'mi was sent into the Tihama. He led troops from Sharaf and was joined by Hasan ibn Abi Zaid with the men of Sanhân. United they entered Maur whence the Turks fled; then Bait ul Faqîh ez Zaidia after being joined by the neighbouring tribes, the Banu Salîl, Najjâr and 'Atâ. As the/

the governor of Loheya fled to Kamarân, twenty men were sent to the town to maintain order. There were no tribesman there, only the coast folk and merchants who follow trade as birds alight on scattered corn. The governor of Hodeida fled, his house was sacked, and Salîf and Duha were captured. The Turks from Kamaran attacked Loheya 13 IV.. but were destroyed almost to the last man. By the irony of chance an officer from Dahlak came to ask their help against the Abyssinians.

Et Taqi routed the enemy at Murâwî'a where many officers of high rank were taken. The booty was so great that it sold for ridiculous prices. The faithful were helped by volunteers from Jerâbih, 'Abûs and Zaidia. The tribes descended on the fugitives like birds of prey and Bait ul Faqîh would have been plundered and its garrison massacred if they had not stolen away secretly; for the tribes lusted for their blood. Et Taqi entered the town saved the Turks and Indian traders and set free the hostages.

Early in VI. the general roused the tribes of Zabîd and attacked the town. He tried to storm it by means of ladders. The defenders put a cannon on the walls but it tumbled off before it could be fired/

fired. Two of the assailants were killed by falling from the wall. Then Hâshim ibn Hâzim who, at Taqi's request, had been made governor of part of the Tihama arrived and took part in a second general assault at night. In the dark the camels with the ladders went astray and though four men climbed the wall the attack failed. The Turks were afraid to venture outside the walls though they numbered two hundred horse and three hundred foot. A ship from Moqha laden with powder and shot for Zabîd foundered with all hands save one. The family of Shâdhili wrote from Moqha that the town was ready to surrender and Mauza^c sent the same message. Early in VII. the Turks marched out from Zabîd and by a pretence of flight defeated the faithful who scattered in all directions from Wusâb to Li^csan; because they thought the tribes of the Tihama had joined the Turks. This was a mistake. They rallied at Duha and advanced to Bait ul Faqîh where they received reinforcements, mostly from Sabya.

Sun. 15 IV. Salâh ibn Ahmed el Muayyadi entered Abu Arish and the commandant shut himself in the castle. At the same time Sabya submitted to the imam and its chiefs and citizens joined his troops at Abu Arish. A week later they attacked the castle. Close under the walls they were safe from bullets while/

while their marksmen kept the ramparts clear of defenders. The wall was soon breached and the Turks asked for terms which were granted for Salāh feared lest the stores should be plundered. The garrison acknowledged the imam and the booty was rich. Thirty thousand ^{دينار} in money, eighty muskets, twenty six horses, twenty four camels, two culverins and store of powder and shot.

In the centre Qarn en Nâ'e surrendered and a month later was destroyed except two houses which the family of Mu'âfa had stipulated should be spared for their use. The army in Tais helped by the Banu Khayvât stormed Tawîla and drove 'Abdurabb into the citadel. 'Arrawand was surrendered by its commandant on condition that he received from the imam the same emoluments as ibn Shamsuddin had given him. A party of twenty foot with three horsemen lay in ambush to capture cattle as they were driven to Sanaa. They did not know they were close to Raima ibn Hamîd and were surprised by a much stronger force yet they fought so stoutly that they chased their assailants to the gate of Raima. Another foray seized twenty oxen at the very gate of the capital.

N. 28 III. the Kalbiyun and men of Sayad drove the Turks from Dhaifan and took hostages from them. They/

They were helped by quarrels among the Turkish leaders. Two forts near 'Affâr were captured and destroyed 1. IV. On this day, after being strongly reinforced from Sanaa, 'Abdurabb attacked the town of Tawila. It is said he sacrificed a mare to ask the help of Ali chief of Hamdân. The fight was stern and long. Help came to the faithful from Haima and Sâqûf and the Turks were repulsed yet it was found unnecessary to evacuate the town - for it was commanded by the castle - and retire to Sâqûf. The Turks suffered a minor reverse at Dha'wân on the road from 'Amran to Sanaa. In an attempt to provision Dhamarmar they suffered some loss in the wadi Sirr though they achieved their main purpose. One of their captains Husain ibn Muhammad el Hamzi was stationed near Sanaa with three hundred infantry and twelve horse. After a meeting with two of the imam's officers in Sinhân he deserted and went to Shahâra followed by most of his men. Two officers did not follow him because their wives were in Sanaa.

The chiefs of Raima asked the imam for a governor and a garrison as their land was one of the gates of Yemen and would cut off all approach to Sanaa from the west.

'Affar capitulated and was given in charge to/

to the people of Murhiba. Sun. 29 IV. Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Luqmân attacked Birâsh near Tawila and stopped six loads of ammunition from Sanaa and six from Kaukaban intended for Tawila. Abdurrabb tried to relieve the village but failed; then he tried the effect of a raid on Haima which came to nothing and then Birâsh surrendered; the garrison being allowed to join their friends. The Banu Jamhar also submitted.

In the middle of V. the faithful suffered a reverse at Tawila. The town was hard pressed and Haidar with the help of Ja'far ibn Ali chief of Hamdan came to the rescue; so certain villages were evacuated; Birash among them. This might have held out but the soldiers lost their heads and ran away. A raid towards Sanaa destroyed a few houses at Waraqa.

26 V. a Turkish raid in Baun was driven off with loss as help came from Thula and Hadûr. A foraging party from 'Amran was cut up. The same day a big army composed of Turks and the soldiers of Kaukaban attacked the camps of the faithful round Tawila. They were driven off after causing a few casualties, among them a woman, a descendant of the prophet, who was shot while indoors. The pasha's cattle even was lifted from Sanaa. A raid on Nihm was repulsed though/

though Haidar was there in person but Mabyan withstood an attack. Mon 13 VI. Haidar sent six hundred men to Thula where his men still held the citadel; so the faithful abandoned the town though outside they offered some resistance. A fortnight later 'Uli surrendered and the garrison carried their weapons to Abdurrabb in Tawila.

Events in the south. The Turks wished to send treasure to Zurâja but the road was cut by the faithful so they had to return while Sunbul who had come to meet them fled back to Dhirâ' el Kalb. Then they bribed Muqbil el Qâ'ifi to attack Hidâ. He tried to reach Zurâja but the opposition was too strong so he returned to his own place.

After a raid to the east of Sanaa when a few horses were taken Hasan marched on Dhirâ' el Kalb and besieged the fort. It was invested on all sides and cavalry was told off to observe Zurâja to prevent help being sent. These two forts were side by side one supporting the other. The roads were held in force so that the two places were isolated. A rich caravan from Zurâja was captured; a hundred of the escort were killed and thirty taken prisoners because the faithful were weary of slaughter. Only five horsemen escaped to Dhimâr and three to Zurâja. A smaller/

smaller caravan was stopped on its way to Dhimar. Sunbul went to Dhimar but could do nothing. Wishing to relieve him the pasha gathered a big army two thousand five hundred foot and a hundred and ten horse, promising a big reward if they should break through to Dhimar. Though surprised the faithful managed to turn the Turks. Nevertheless they promised Sunbul to relieve him on the last day of III. Hasan heard of this and laid his plans accordingly. Hidâ faced south to prevent a sortie, Ali ibn Abdulla et Tair faced north to meet the army from Sanaa and Hasan was in command of the reserves. Success crowned his efforts. He sent an expedition to Wasâb which occupied 'Utuma. The commander reported that the natives knew nothing but the confession and only needed to be taught their duty to the imam to make valiant defenders of the faith.

Husain proposed to move further north so as to be ready to strike at Tais or in the south. While he was making his preparations at Dhu Yasân, the troops in Dhirâ' el Kalb and Qubbatain sallied out. Sunbul was short of powder and this was an attempt to replenish his supply. It failed in spite of hot fighting round Zaila Yakla where all the dead were decapitated 14 IV. 17, a convoy from Zurâja was captured/

captured in the pass of Suwâd. The faithful were mostly mounted and could not follow the enemy who took to the hills and caused some loss by their gunfire. The bedouin came to our aid and took twenty five heads and three horses though most escaped.

N 22 IV. a convoy from Dhimar was held up, so next day they tried to send provisions on pack horses. This attempt also failed for the blockade was so close that not even a messenger could get through. This is a patriotic imagination of the historian.

Sun. 23 IV. the Turks took twenty five horses laden with the soldiers' pay into Dhirâ' el Kalb and on the Tuesday detachments marched from there and from Zurâja to meet troops from Qubbatain. The faithful encountered them at Zaila Yakla and killed forty. Some fled towards Qubbatain but were surrounded at Harman for Abdulla el 'Akwa' came up from the east and Ali et Tair from the west. They say a hundred and fifty muskets were captured. This fight equalled in importance Rârib Ithla. Then Ali ibn Abdulla el Manama one of the greatest chiefs of Haima deserted the Turks among whom he had held an important position and joined Hasan. He forced Bait Baus to surrender though Haidar pasha came to its relief. He was forced to look on as the faithful entered/

entered the town Tue. 8 V. This place was important as it commanded the road to Qubbatain.

Hidâ captured a convoy of a hundred camels near Dhimar. All the chiefs of Qa'ifa joined the imam, except Muqbil and it was hoped that he would soon come in; of his own free will or otherwise. Ali ibn Muhammad el Himati was sent to Zum near Wusab where he defeated the Turks. Their commander fled past Jibla to Ibb. As the ruffians of Hida refused to obey Ali, Ahmed ibn Salah el Qutabari was sent to take command.

Husain ibn Muhammad el Hamzi was attacked near Manqadha yet he routed his assailants captured the village and several others also and received four hostages from the fort on Mt. Kibrit. The greatest success of all was that Muqbil el Qa'ifi joined the faithful with five hundred musketeers. He was perhaps the most powerful chief in Yemen; his followers were bedouin and the Turks had no authority over them. As they had reached the limits of endurance and despaired of relief, Sunbul abandoned Dhira' el Kalb Zuraja and Qubbatain and escaped to Dhimar. The faithful were not quick enough and only captured some stores and a few sick and wounded whom they massacred. Muhammed ibn Hasan was sent to Zum to observe Dhimar till Muqbil should arrive to begin the siege. The
Turks/

Turks brought Zaid ibn Ahmed of Hidâ out of prison hoping he would persuade his tribe to join them; instead he fled to Ahmed el Asadi. At Yarîm a Turkish army was defeated and besieged. A band of fugitives took refuge in Jibla and was there invested. Samâha and 'Utama surrendered and Nasir ibn Ahmed er Rammah joined the imam. The Turks withdrew from Mt. Habb to Ibb.

The amir et Tâhir joined at Zabid and 'Amir ibn Ahmed el Jamâ'i declared for the imam. He had a great following in the neighbourhood of Ta'iz and in VII. these tribes attacked the town which with Jibla and Ibb was the only stronghold left to the Turks. Sunbul ordered the troops in Yarîm to attack Khan in Ru'ain. Husain ibn Muhammad hurried up and the Turks were defeated with the loss of several officers, their flag and drum Th. 8 VII. Husain then attacked Yarim and suffered heavy loss, many of his kin being killed, for the riffraff of Khaulan who formed part of his army, ran away.

At the end of VI. Hidâ attacked Jibla and killed a hundred of the enemy, capturing as many muskets. Hasan prepared for an expedition ostensibly against Dhimar and then attacked Raima ibn Hamîd, taking/

taking considerable spoil and levelling the outpost. The survivors took refuge in the castle.

Husain and Hasan met in Ḥaḍur for an attack on Abdurrabb. Hasan threatened Sinḥan and Sanaa where Ahmed el Asadi was already fighting. Then he rejoined his brother and they marched to Shamât and at dawn Sat. 17 VII. they attacked Abdurrabb who fled with Muzâhim and Qâsim two Turkish officers, to Bukur. The whole camp was captured and several villages declared for the faith. The troops came so close to Kaukaban that they were fired at from the walls.

Sunday, the brothers of the imam approached Bukur when Abdurrabb capitulated on condition that the lives of his officers including the two Turks were spared.

Kaukaban surrendered and Abdurrabb sent his son Nâsir to Shahara to arrange their affairs. They remained in possession of their lands and villages but the imam appointed the governors. Ali ibn Muhammad el Jamlûli was the first judge. Two officers and a hundred men who had been sent to help Ḥaidar fled to the imam when they heard of the surrender of Kaukaban.

Abdulla ibn Muhammad esh Sharafi and Ahmed ibn Muhammad el Ḥaidâni arrived too late for the fight and were sent at once to Thula. After a few days fighting/

fighting during which they were joined by Muhammad el Akwa' they took the town and the citadel surrendered unconditionally. The prisoners were allowed to live under restraint in different parts of the country.

30.VII. Mabyan and Kaukaban surrendered to the governor of Hajja, Husain ibn Hajjâf and the hostages and prisoners were released. Some had been in captivity so long that their family was not known.

Ahmed ibn Qasim attacked 'Amran, repelling several sorties. Then he advanced on ~~the~~ Dha'wân receiving the submission of Hazim Dhaifân and the Suraih. In a raid on Sanaa an outpost was established opposite the gate Sabha. 5 VIII. Hasan and Husain again raided Sanaa with Abdurrabb and many of his kin who were enthusiastic in their devotion to the imam. They penetrated to Jirâf and a skirmish ensued though the Turks retired before Hasan's cavalry could come up.

After some bargaining the six hundred men in Yarim capitulated. Alarmed by the fall of Kaukaban Sunbul began negotiations through Muhammad the brother of Abdurrabb; he surrendered Dhimar and became a loyal soldier of the faith, swearing to obey the imam in all things. Mt.Kibrît and Radâ' also gave in and set free their hostages. Samâra gave in to a/

to a show of force and Husain ibn Muhammad occupied the castle as it was a strong position at the head of the pass. He sent his son Tâlib to Damt Qa'taba and Ibb with a thousand musketeers and a hundred and twenty horse.

In IX. Abdelqadir the chief of Khanfar occupied Ra'âri^s in the wadi of Lahej and posted his son in the town with the eastern tribes. He stayed there a fortnight and then sent the tribes home for he feared disturbance if they were present at the capture of Aden. Hasan sent troops to support him with instructions only to join him if they had heard one of two items of good news; the capture of Aden or of Sanaa. Before they arrived Aden was taken, except the island of Sîra, by the help of the Yafei tribes. Abdulqadir was devoted to the faith and continued to help Hassan with men and munitions.

On Tu.12 IX. Husain ibn Muhammad reported the surrender of Jibla and Ibb though each was held by four hundred men. The generous treatment offered to Yarim had its effect; also the declaration that the imam would treat all men, Arabs and foreigners, alike; in contrast to the severity of Haidar pasha. Mahmûd-âga, the governor of Yarim, used his influence and the towns were glad to come to terms. Next followed/

followed Nu'man and Zahr in Wasâb.

Hadi esh Shami had collected certain base fellows from Hidâ and Khaulan and plundered lower Yemen. The inhabitants complained to Husain ibn Muhammad who clapped Hadi in prison for a time and dispersed his following over whom he had no control. In X. there was skirmishing with varied results near 'Amran and Tu. 21 XI. the town surrendered with five hundred Turks. The commander was sent to Shahara and kept there in honourable captivity. At the end of the month 'Arûs on Mt. Sabir surrendered and Ta'iz was besieged.

The fighting round Sanaa was continuous and not always to the advantage of the faithful. Some of their new allies proved treacherous and fled to the Turks. Muhammad the son of the imam Hasan was stationed in Rawda; Mt. Nuqum was occupied at a heavy cost for Ali ibn Abdulla et Tair was killed and the imam's brothers were in great danger, deserted by their followers. They performed prodigies of valour and though Husain was wounded Hasan slew Dhu 'l-Fiqar and captured his horse. Again and again the Turks attacked Rawda; several times bringing cannon against it. Once the artillery was put out of action because water was thrown on the matches. The blockade/

blockade was drawn closer; Hasan and Husain, Abdur-
 rabb and Sunbul taking part; Hadi ibn Mutahhar ibn
 Shuwai^h was in Bait Luhaida, Ahmed ibn Muhammad edh
 Dhimari in Dâr Sâlim and Mutahhar ibn Nureddin in
 Qulfân of Sinhân. Prices rose; a Sanaa قرح of corn
 cost three حرق. Rations were issued, six thousand
 loaves; first wheat then barley later maize and at
 N last chaff. One wet night sixty men deserted. A
 messenger to Zabîd was captured and his letters
 found which confirmed the reports about the scarcity
 in the town. Supplies came from Hamdan alone and
 then but twice or thrice a month, and an armed guard
 had to meet the caravan. Wheat cost five حرق the قرح
 maize three and a half and barley three. The infan-
 N try received daily four loaves equal ^{in price} to ten كبير,
 the cavalry forty and the officers sixty.

A letter from Loheya reported that Haidar's
 agent had collected a thousand of the lowest class
 of Egyptians to serve in Yemen. Brought to Suez it
 was decreed that the strongest should march by land
 and the others travel by sea; but they objected as
 they wished not to be separated. They mutinied and
 three hundred were killed. A ship load started but
 strife broke out and many perished. They returned
 to Suez and plundered the governor's house. Further
 news came T.37; the sultan had ordered Ahmed the
 pasha/

pasha of Egypt to lead to Yemen all the troops in Egypt. The men mutinied and killed the pasha and the general. The sharif of Mecca heard that Sanaa had surrendered and confiscated Haidar's treasures in Mecca and Jidda.

There was trouble because Hamdan sent provisions - grain cattle and ghee - into Sanaa. The imam's brothers tried to stop this traffic and then Wâda'a a sub-tribe of Hamdan revolted at Jâhilia and were followed by the whole country. To separate Hamdan from Sanaa the faithful made great efforts to hold Jerâf where Turkish attacks were repelled 25.XII. Ahmed gathered an army from the Banu Suraih, Hajjâj and Suraim and carried the war into Hamdan. Therebels speedily asked pardon.

Then 1 f. 37 the Turks - sixty horse and six hundred foot - abandoned Jâhilia whereupon the faithful burned the village and laid waste the fields. Ahmed had promised the townsfolk their lives but the Banu Harith met a party carrying their bedding and killed eighteen of them. 15 I. Dhamarmar was taken with all its stores. 18 III. the Turks made a determined attack on Hashisha, putting troops in ambush near it and Radda. One trap succeeded but not the other and after an initial success they were driven off in disorder.

Meantime/

Meantime things were going badly in the south. Hadi esh Shami was defeated in Sahbân and though Hidâ raided Ta'iz and captured two hundred cattle and five hundred sheep, the amir Husain had to abandon Jibla. He tried to hold the line of fortresses Dhu Sifûl Ta'kur and Jibla but the soldiers ran without fighting. He could only retreat leaving all his stores behind him and then seventy men of Yafei, Hashid and Bakil turned traitor, killed fifty of his soldiers and fled to the enemy. The amir sent a despairing letter to Hasan asking for five hundred musketeers to march night and day to his rescue. Hasan left Ahmed to take his place in Rauda and reached Dhimar 5 III. He was at Yarim Sat. 11 III. and sent Yahya ibn Lutfulbari to Habaish and other troops to Mt. Ba'dan. The Turks were driven to Jibla Ibb and Mt. Habb while the faithful occupied ~~Najd el Ammar~~ Najd el Ammar to cut them off from Ta'iz. The inhabitants everywhere were overjoyed at the faithful's return. Qa'ifa and the eastern tribes, the chiefs of Zabîd and 'Abs joined in; then Sûq eth Thulûth on Mt. Ba'dân was captured, a few of the garrison escaping to Mt. Habb. Qa'ifa invested Ibb.

The Turks from Jibla tried to raise the siege of Habaish. When the relieving army was signalled the faithful made so violent an attack that the/

the fort was taken, the garrison exterminated and such booty obtained that Hasan was able to refit his army 23. III. The garrison of Ibb surrendered on their lives being assured to them and the troops from Jibla fled while Ahmed aga, the Infant of Zûm,^① arranged the surrender of the town that it might escape pillage. The faithful then marched on Ta'iz the only town left in Turkish hands. 4. IV. Hasan took up a strong position near Majd el Ahmar overlooking the town. Here he was joined by Ali ibn Haidara es Salami and Abdul Qahir ibn Murallas with the tribes of Hijria. Sunbul occupied 'Udain and Abdurrabb Qâ'ida while Abdulqadir advanced on Mocha. Then a quarrel broke out between the amir Husain and 'Amir el Jamâ'i the governor of Ibb. Husain made an attack, sacked the governor's house and part of the town. The inhabitants sacrificed five oxen in front of Husain's tent and besought his mercy which was graciously granted. 'Amir escaped and complained to Hasan who summoned Husain to his presence; and reported to the imam that this disturbance would have had very serious consequences had it occurred before the adhesion of Hijria.

Yaf'ân a strong fortress in Raima had been closely/

closely besieged. Part of the town had fallen and ladders were ready for the final storm when the garrison appealed to Sunbul to arrange terms 3. V. They enlisted in the imam's army and Ahmed ibn Abu Rijâl was appointed governor. From Aden Abdulqadir sent a present to Hasan; four bronze culverins and two iron, eighteen iron guns, four horses and a thousand dirhems.

Hasan occupied Mt. Sabir which is to the south what the head is to the body. He sent Yahya ibn Lutfulbari against Ta'iz and the battle began on a small scale, extending as one after another the leaders joined in; first Hadi esh Shami then Abdur-rabb and at last Hasan himself. The Turks fled and the victors, without waiting to cut off the heads of the fallen, pressed on to the town and would have entered it had not the guards shut the gate in the faces of their comrades who were cut down outside the walls Mon. 1 VI. As the chief of 'Udain showed signs of restlessness Abdulmu'min was sent against him. He took the town though the chief fled and later surrendered with another ringleader. They were sent to Hasan who put them in prison. Hadi esh Shami came to the town and received the submission of the whole district/

district; of Hais whose garrison fled to Zabid and Shar'aḥ. He had to enter Hijria but they soon quieted down.

The blockade of Sanaa continued. The Turks made sorties, mostly towards Jirâf which sometimes had some success but the situation grew steadily worse. Wheat rose to be ten ^{درهم} the ^{قمح} and barley eight, and they ate the horses that were killed in battle. One small convoy of food was stopped before it reached the town and once eighty sheep were captured near the mosque of Wahb. The owners had left them while they bargained with the Turks. The sheep were divided between the soldiers and the natives.

3. IV. the imam wrote to Haidar suggesting an armistice with release of prisoners and the correspondence continued till a truce was called for Ramadan.

Haidar wished to send two officials to Zabid to arrange the pilgrimage so Husain escorted them with two officers to Sunbul who was blockading that town. He gave them another officer as safeguard. In the town a riot broke out and the three faithful were killed. Some even wished to kill the pasha's deputies but the commanders managed to save them. After this atrocity the imam sent an indignant note to Haidar who was not responsible; "No one, be/

be ~~he~~ muslim or infidel, would kill an ambassador".

The truce was extended for three months and then to the end of II. 1038 for the imam saw that his troops needed rest. Hostages were released and the famine in the capital ceased. Men had not been deterred by fear of punishment or death from taking food there but now no more profit was to be had there than anywhere else. Still no help came from Europe and all the jewels were turned into money and the cannon into ~~دوارس~~ دوارس. The pasha of Egypt sent a thousand men - weaklings peasants and strangers - under Rajab aga but they killed an officer from Mocha and finally to the number of two hundred and fifty with their leader, joined the imam.

Envoys were sent to Ta'iz with the news of the truce. At first Hasan would not let them enter the town for he hoped to reduce it by force but mediators persuaded him to obey the imam although the endurance of the garrison had nearly reached its limit and the besiegers were so close they could hear the slightest sound on the walls. The hostages were released though only thirty out of seventy were alive and some were too weak to walk XI. 1037. Hasan took his troops to Janad lest they should be corrupted by the Turks. There disease broke out and eight hundred/

hundred perished, so they say.

Early in XI. 1037. a fresh pasha named
 Aidin arrived with a thousand soldiers. As he passed
 Jâzân he wrote to the chief and sharifs of Sabya
 summoning them to the sultan's flag and offering the
 chief the governorship of Yemen. He passed the let-
 ter to the imam. Aidin meantime landed at Mocha.
 Hasan raided the Zarârîr two days journey from Janad
 who were excited by Aidin's arrival, and brought back
 much spoil in camels and sheep 15 XII.

Ali ibn Haidara showed signs of restless-
 ness so Hasan summoned him to a meeting at Yafris.
 Ali took refuge with his family and followers at the
 far end of his dominions and sent his brother Fadl to
 Hasan. He was received with due honour and it was
 made manifest that Hasan's intentions were peaceful.
 Ali refused to obey orders and begged Turkish aid so
 at the end of the year Hasan marched against him,
 leaving a guard in Umm Faras. He won an easy vic-
 tory, took a hundred heads and much booty, arms silk
 and cloth, money camels sheep and cattle. The slaugh-
 ter would have been greater had not the soldiers been
 tired of killing. All Hijria was pacified and Hasan
 returned to Dimna whence he marched to meet Aidin who
 had/

had answered Salami's appeal for help. They met at Najd Qasim. Out of a thousand foot and forty horse the Turks lost a hundred killed and two hundred prisoners, including two agas. The horse scattered in flight to Ta'iz. All the baggage arms and treasure were captured I. 1038.

N. Abdurrabb died 26 I. in Janad; his brother Muhammad 13 VI. and was buried beside him; and Husain ibn Muhammad 10 II.

After Najd Qasim Hasan marched on Mocha and camped three miles from it in a palm grove. In an attack he penetrated the streets by the gate Wattâq; but as the soldiers did not know the town they were badly beaten. The Turks mounted light guns on the houses and ships in the harbour fired on the faithful. At last Hasan was left with only twelve followers in the street of Shaikh Shâdhâli. During the retreat they were hampered by the soft sand. Over sixty were killed 7. III.

N. Haidar tried to arrange a truce between the imam and Aidin as he wished to get some of his property from Mocha. Finally the imam agreed to a five months truce to end with Ramadan but Haidar's money must be kept in Jidda or some other place till the/

the evacuation of Sanaa was complete. This truce only concerned Mocha and Zabid and was of great benefit to the imam as his troops were exhausted by exposure to rain and storm and harassed by the doubtful loyalty of the tribes. One item in the treaty was that Aidin should pay twelve thousand dirhems to Hasan.

N Haidar asked that the imam's son Ali might be sent to Sanaa to guarantee his safety. The young man left Uqr 11 VI. and travelled by Hâshif Sûda and 'Amran.

In IV. Husain went to Haima to keep order and levy the taxes. As the end of the truce drew near he went to Hadda end of VI. Yahya el Mikhlâfi had complained that he had crossed his domain without asking permission. So before his return he had informed Yahya of his intention. The chief called out the tribe and surrounded him but was persuaded by his kinsmen not to attack. Husain and his troops waited for an hour but there was no provision for them as the baggage had gone another road. Yahya forbade them the direct road so they had to retrace their steps and go by the pass of Mikhlâf to Sûq'elkhamîs. Though it was still his domain Yahya would not provide food. The local chief wished Husain to be his guest but as he had already entertained them on the outward/

outward journey Husain refused and went on to Shaqq Banu Shihâb.

N 12 VI. Husain attacked Yanâ', Yahya's home. The fight lasted into the afternoon when Husain retired to Raima leaving outposts in Jed'ân. Yahya was defeated in a sortie. Then he fled with eight retainers to Khaulan. Next day Yanâ' was found to be deserted and was pillaged and destroyed. The tribes were treated generously and the country pacified. Haidar took this opportunity to attack Hadda, Th.4.VI. He had no profit from his breach of the truce.

Fri.14.VII. Haidar summoned Ali ibn Muhammad from Rauda. They met in the gardens and Haidar handed over the keys of Sanaa. He was allowed to leave some property in the town under the care of a servant; strict orders being given that he should be subject to no annoyance. Two hundred and fifty camels had been collected to transport the pasha's goods and large presents of food were waiting for him. Ali and Haidar travelled slowly to the coast. At Ahjar the tribes carried off a slave. Punishment was swift. Husain himself appeared, had the slave restored and fined the marauders heavily. The journey was toilsome; many of the camels died and the loads had to be carried on men's heads; food was scarce and rain continuous/

continuous. When the Tehâma was reached Ali entrusted the pasha to Ahmed el Haidani and Muhammad et Tuhaimi and returned to his father who made him governor of Sanaa. The parting was affecting; one Turk declared: He who draws sword against the imam is not a muslim. At Baital Faqih Hâshim ibn Hâzim met the pasha and at Zabid the whole town welcomed him 22 VIII.

so did some who had received pensions from the Turks, also Ali ibn Mutahhar ibn Shu'ayb who had been made amir, along with sharifs from Haur and Araba.

5. VIII. 1038. Hasan posted his army outside Ta'iz where he was joined by Fadl as Salami with a thousand men. They made a hundred ladders each fifteen alis long for an assault by storm. It failed though with little loss to the besiegers. Thirteen hundred poor who had no means of subsistence were driven out of the town. Both the imam and Haidar called on the town to surrender according to the terms of peace but they refused and claimed Ali as their chief. He asked that the truce with Mecca might be extended to include Ta'iz. This the imam refused because time and again Ta'iz had broken the truce. QANSUH/ by Haidar who now wrote from Haidia announcing/

QÂNSUH AND ZABÎD.

After the surrender of Sanaa several of the Muayyad family did homage to the imam; among them Muhammad ibn Abdulla who sold his property in the capital and went to dwell in Saada where he died I. 1044.; so did some who had received pensions from the Turks; also Ali ibn Mutahhar ibn Shuwai^c who had been made amir, along with sharifs from Jauf and Arabs.

5. VIII. 1038. Hasan posted his army outside Ta^ciz where he was joined by Fadl es Salami with a thousand men. They made a hundred ladders each fifteen ells long for an assault by storm. It failed though with little loss to the besiegers. Thirteen hundred poor who had no means of subsistence were driven out of the town. Both the imam and Haidar called on the town to surrender according to the terms of peace but they refused and claimed Aidin as their chief. He asked that the truce with Mocha might be extended to include Ta^ciz. This the imam refused because time and again Ta^ciz had broken the truce arranged by Haidar who now wrote from Zaidia announcing/

announcing his coming to Zabid and his intention to send the amir Hidr to Mocha to ask if Aidin were appointed by the sultan in which case he must pay all the troops; or by the pasha of Egypt when Haidar would keep his own command.

Mo. Ta. 12 X. the garrison of Qâhira, the citadel of Ta'iz, surrendered and were enrolled in Hasan's army. Husain ibn Abdurrabb and Yahya ibn Lutfulbari occupied the fort, then the town capitulated and was treated magnanimously. Fr. 16 X. Mt. Habb surrendered to Sâlih ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Rijâl. In I. 1039 the imam sent envoys to Haidar to inquire into his future plans. The soldiers grew suspicious and informed Aidin. He ordered them to appoint one of their number general, another governor of the town and to make Haidar a prisoner. After two or three days he was sent to Kamarân.

In answer to many calls from Mocha the pasha of Egypt sent Ahmed Qânsuh to Yemen. He travelled overland reaching Mecca 4 I. 1039. and then to Sabya where the chief met him humbly because he was not strong enough to fight; though he warned the imam. Ahmed ibn Luqman withdrew from Itwad to Zahr el Hamal not far from Abu Arish where he was joined by Yahya ibn/

ibn Muhammed whom his father sent in hot haste with three hundred soldiers. The chief of Sabya wished to make a stand at Birk a town with old ruins and strong buildings but the imam would not permit this as it was too far off for effective support and could be turned by sea. 2.IV. Qansuh left Sabya with an army reported to number six hundred cavalry and two thousand musketeers while three thousand travelled by sea. Previously a Turkish ship and eight galleys appeared off Loheya when the guard, frightened by a rumour of the army's approach, fled to Maur and then to Zaidia.

In Abu Arish the soldiers of Yahya suffered from the strange water and very few escaped illness. Some of the Khawâji - sharifs of Sabya - with their tribal allies joined them and they occupied Jâzân in force. As the port was not big enough to hold them they left Hâdi en Na'mi there with fifty men and returned to Abu Arish. Hardly had they gone when some Turks attacked the town and were driven off; the sailors said with a loss of fifty men. They remained outside the roadstead for a day and then sailed to the bay opposite Farsân. Fr. 5. V. three Turkish ships arrived; they wished to enter the service of the imam but Hadi mismanaged matters so they sailed away/

away and were wrecked. Some perished and some escaped to the Tihama.

Qansuh marched through Maur, Zaidia, after et Taqi had vacated it and Bait ul Faqih. He ordered the chief to supply five hundred camel loads of food. As the Arabs had fled to the desert it was impossible to provide this quantity and so the chief was crucified, and his brother was dragged through the town tied to the tail of a camel. Many houses were plundered. The natives fled to Raima and infested the roads killing all the Turks they found. End of IV. Qansuh reached Zabid and camped outside the Shabâriq gate. He had Aidin brought from Mocha imprisoned and killed; some say by poison. In spite of a pestilence from which many died he ordered the castle to be fortified and a wall built round it. Hasan Sunbul and Hâshim were in Raima, observing the enemy and ready to support each other. The amir Mûsa was sent to occupy Hais where he died Wed. 17 V. Some say he was a bedouin from Egypt, others that he belonged to Hamdan and his grandfather had emigrated.

N. 27 V. a ship attacked Jûzân and in spite of its guns was driven off. The garrison had some culverins but no proper equipment, so a bullock was harnessed to one which was loaded with hard stones that/

N. that served their deadly purpose. 23 VI. two ships and two corvettes appeared off the town. Impressed by the show of force Hadi retired and the enemy captured his guns and carried them on board. Yahya sent reinforcements and reoccupied the town so the ships sailed away. Thur. 8 VII. Ahmed ibn Luqman died at Mt. Râziḥ from a disease contracted in the Tihama. He left all his property to the imam to divide as he thought fit between his children and the service of the holy war.

The imam heard that the chief of Maur wished to break with the Turks so he ordered Yahya to send some of his troops from Amrûkh to join him. Yahya declined as the tribes showed no signs of friendliness because the fear of the Turk lay heavy on the land but the imam insisted. The chief of Maur summoned Turkish help from Zaidia and engaged the faithful. Their camp was surprised by the Wa'izât and as they were overcome by the heat and a long stay in the Tihama they lost a hundred and twenty four killed, including one officer, and forty prisoners who were afterwards released.

In VIII. 'Amir ez Zibyanî revolted with the Safâlid, the Rabi'atân and the Habaishia and attacked/

attacked Hadi esh Shami in Damm. The assault was
 beaten off and Muqbil and Hidâ hurried to join in
 the fight and ravaged the Hubaishia. Perhaps the
 Turks stirred up this trouble to make an opportunity
 for attacking Hasan. While it was in progress Qansuh
 sent a detachment from Hais to Shaikh 'Îsa IX. Hasan
 and his brother went to Zuwâqir to oppose them and
 Sunbul to Najd el Mukhaibar. After waiting some days
 the fight began 11 IX. and lasted two days. The de-
 tachment was all but destroyed and its supplies cap-
 tured. Hasan was now behind the main army of the
 Turks and his brother in front of them; he did not
 wish to wait lest his supplies should run out, his men
 lose heart and seditious rumours spread. Also the
 enemy's position was suited to the movements of cav-
 alry. By a trick he persuaded the Turks that some
 of their allies were inclined to play traitor so they
 moved into the hills and the battle began in Raida
 28 IX. All the Arab commanders were fighting inde-
 pendently for the whole battle was very confused and
 no one knew exactly what he was doing. The enemy ap-
 peared and disappeared mysteriously. Exhausted by
 fighting and watching in the rain and mud men slept
 in the middle of the fight and the enemy's general
 was able to escape with four or five hundred foot and
 two/

two hundred horse. Yet the Turks fell like the leaves of the forest and Yemen was filled with the spoil. None knew for certain, for every camp was full of captives and booty yet there must have been three thousand slain and the same number of prisoners. Probably as many escaped for about ten thousand muskets were taken.

At the end of X. Hasan returned to Yafriis and a year's truce was arranged with Qansuh. A blood feud between the Khawajiun of Sabya and the Hawâzima of Sulhaba was referred to the imam for settlement; the judge of Sabya died in Shahâra whither he had gone to take part in these negotiations.

1 III. 1040 the amir of Zabid perished with the most of his household through the fall of his house, due to the heavy rain. It was not till the next day that his body was dug out of the ruins. Shortly after Husain ibn Abdurrabb died in Ta'iz and was buried beside his father in Janad.

Hasan captured letters between Qansuh and Ahmed ibn Sha'fal which showed that the chief was preparing a revolt in the east. Fearing for Aden which the Turks could easily reach by sea and land he told Abdulqadir that Yafa' who formed part of the garrison, were in league with the rebel an old enemy of Khanfar. Hasan/

Hasan went in person to Qa'taba III. and sent Hadi esh Shami with Qâ'ifa against the Rubi'atân who abandoned their homes and property. Qa'ifa destroyed the houses and looted the cattle. Ali ibn Shamsân and Sunbul prepared to attack the Safâlid from two sides and the tribe returned to its obedience. At the end of III. Ahmed ibn Sha'fal fled with his chattels to Yafaî and his tribe made peace. His brother Ja'far was installed in his stead with all customary rights and privileges. Then began the pursuit of the rebel. Hasan returned to Ibb after sending Hadi esh Shami to support Ja'far and follow Ahmed. There were negotiations but they came to nothing. In the fight that followed Hadi was distinctly worsted for the tribes deserted. He retreated and asked for help. When it arrived, Ahmed was hunted out of his refuge but all Yafaî gathered round him VI. and Hadi was helpless; even his camp with its guard was captured. In VII. two sons of Ahmed and a brother returned to their allegiance.

In VI. a mutiny broke out in Zabid and the gates were shut in the face of the officer whom Qansuh sent from Mocha to restore order. Then he went to Bait ul Faqih and began intrigues with the mutineers till they called him to Zabid where he executed the/

the ringleader and went back to Mocha VII. One result was that Hasan made Ta'iz his headquarters for he feared the Turks might seize the town. Though it was the capital of lower Yemen Hasan did not live there because of the heat.

A strange thing happened 14 VII; a great noise like the firing of many guns was heard at Yaf-ris. "The enemy are upon us" was the cry and Ta'iz was empty of troops. The army was hurried to Sûger Rubû' in Zarârîr; and it was a false alarm. The noise was heard all over the province. Yahya the imam's son had been ill for some time. He had asked repeatedly to be allowed to return to the hills but his presence was considered necessary for the peace of the Tihama. After the truce with Qansuh he had hoped to leave the plains but was hindered by one obstacle after another till he died 4 V.

In IX. was a great gathering of the chiefs in Shahara. The war had been long, they yearned after their friends and desired to see the imam and be refreshed by his virtues. It was a great and festal day; there were gifts from the imam and his brethren for each according to his rank whether prince or camel driver. The festivities were disturbed by one/

one accident. A hill in Ḥāshif seventy ells high overhanging a cave suddenly fell, burying fourteen men, a woman and much cattle. The imam sent help to dig them out but three of the men were dead and nearly all the animals. Hasan returned to lower Yemen and on his road married a daughter of Abdurrabb in K~~h~~aukaban, from whom he begot a son. In Daurân he built a house and laid out gardens with coffee bananas and other fruits.

After the feast of sacrifice the soldiers in Mocha demanded a gratuity so the captain gave them two thousand gold حريف. Qansuh was indignant at such treachery (as he called it) and slew the officer with his own hand. The soldiers attacked the pasha who only saved himself by handing over three of his friends who were slain over the fresh grave and four others were taken to Kamarân as hostages. Then at the end of VII.1041 many of his soldiers plotted together and fled from the Tihama, from Bait al Fdqîh, Zaidia, Maur, Loheya and Mauza^c. Two hundred and fifty cavalry went by land and a thousand infantry by sea. The governor of Jâzân chanced to be absent when the ships arrived so they sacked the town; the horse did no harm beyond seizing some corn; for the road had been deserted before them. Hâdi en Na^cmi joined/.

joined the chief of Sabya near Abu Arish and wished to attack the mutineers. However the chief had promised them his protection; it is said, he warned them of a possible attack. Qansuh was furious at this desertion for the only soldiers left him were Arabs and they were unruly and untrustworthy.

In V. a terrible fire in Sabya destroyed three thousand six hundred houses and much property. In this year some of the imam's kin went on pilgrimage at the head of a great company - near ten thousand men; the greatest pilgrimage for years. Some went by the eastern road, others by the mountain trail where they had to fight their way and all returned by the coast or by sea.

In 1043 Qansuh planned an attack on Aden. He called on Yafai to gather at Lahij in II. and they agreed on condition that he sent troops. Several chiefs of Yafai were in Aden when Abdulqadir seized a letter from the pasha for them. He treated them with all honour and sent Ma'uda ibn 'Afif to raise the tribes who responded with zeal. A ship and three corvettes sent by Qansuh stayed three weeks off Aden without accomplishing anything. When they went the danger past.

In III. a force from Kamaran attacked Jazan/
an/

Jâzân while Hadi en Na'mi was absent at Shahara. His lieutenant was not strong enough to fight so the inhabitants carried their goods inland. The Turks held the town for three days, carried off a little food and burnt many houses. Then they sailed before the imam could gather troops to punish them.

The towns in the Tihama that suffered under Turkish rule and tribes like Mu'âziba and Fakhri turned to the imam for help. All the soldiers on the register were summoned from Saada and all quarters and in VII. 1043 Hâshim ibn Hâzim entered the Tihama supported by Et Taqi ibn Ibrahim from Am-rûkh while Hasan left his brother Husain as his deputy in Daurân and marched on Zaidia, hoping to surprise the garrison. They were warned and escaped. He wanted to pursue but feared the town might be pillaged in his absence so occupied it 15 VII. Jarâ-bih and Fakhri had joined him earlier and now all the tribes flocked to him. Et Taqi entered Maur 16 VII and shortly after a detachment of Hasan's troops arrived.

The fugitives from Zaidia entered Bait ul Faqih and caused such dismay that the troops there fled with them to Zabid Thu. 18 VII. Sunbul who chanced/

chanced to be nearest occupied the town and pacified the district by proclaiming peace and security for all. The people of Tihama showed more zeal for the faith than ever before. Qansuh sent an army gathered from Mocha Zabid and Hais against Ali ibn Shamsan who was outside the last named town. After a hard fight he drove off the enemy and when they evacuated Hais he entered it; doing no harm to the inhabitants. The enemy also suffered from scarcity of food. Hasan and Hashim joined Sunbul in Bait el Faqih and marched on Zabid camping to the north and east within a mile or two of the walls. Hasan pitched his camp at Hami where he commanded the approaches and could see what was happening in the town 18 IX. There were said to be four hundred and twenty horseman and fifteen hundred infantry in Zabid, fifty horse and a thousand foot in Mocha and in Mauza^c a hundred and fifty or two hundred horse. Immediately after the arrival of the faithful there was a fight. The Turks were driven back into the town and a few of the assailants were shot down from the walls.

Troops from Kaukaban under Shamsuddin ibn Yahya and others under Hadi ibn Mutahhar were attacked at Mauza^c by the garrisons of that place and of Mocha 30.IX. or 1.X. One division of the enemy began/

began the battle while another made a circuit and attacked from the rear. Three onsets were beaten off and then the line broke. Shamsuddin was killed and Hadi retired but as he had no supplies he continued his retreat to Yafris. This defeat had a very bad effect so Hasan summoned Husain from Dauran where he had hoped to spend his time in study and the imam sent Ahmed to Dhimar. Before these reinforcements arrived the garrison of Zabid marched out to fight. They had intended to attack Hasan but changed their mind and fought Sunbul. The chief of a village near was to play the traitor for their benefit but Hasan discovered the mischief, cut off the man's head and threw it into the town. In his house they found five ^٥ ^٥ of food, bread and dough ready for the Turks. Hasan marched to the aid of his fellow commander and the enemy was routed; the city wall alone saved them Mo 4 X. This success quieted the disaffected. The enemy are said to have lost a hundred men and the tails of twenty horses were presented to the general. Perhaps the enemy's losses were exaggerated.

After a skirmish in F. 1044 an attempt was made to bring fresh supplies into Zabid II. Mustapha/

Mustapha aga waited in the neighbourhood for a ship with provisions and ammunition. He met it at Bugsa, loaded the stores on three hundred camels and began the journey with an escort of four hundred cavalry. Hasan had come to meet him and caught him at Nakhil in the dark. The Turks were scattered and the whole convoy captured. Some of their allies raised the imam's warcry, turned on their late friends and made off before dawn. The spoil included two cannons, three hundred tents and twenty loads of corn. Perhaps the losses of the Turks were exaggerated for in the dark many scattered and escaped; but Mustapha fled with only twenty five companions. This raid lasted three days and four nights.

A truce was arranged to begin in VI. and last three months. Then an epidemic broke out and numbers of the faithful died; though Hasan and Husain escaped after slight attacks. In VII. Qansuh entered Zabid hoping to draw profit from the sickness. During the truce there was a fire in Hasan's camp of tents and huts; one half was burnt but all the animals were saved and no soldiers perished though many were sick. At this time there died Hasan Yahya and Yusuf sons of the imam's brother Ali.

In VIII. a chief of Balma raised a rebellion/

rebellion in Wasûb and besieged the governor for two days when the rest of the province rose and drove away the rebels, capturing the leader. This revolt had cut the besiegers of Zabîd from all communications for eight days; no food or other necessities would be brought to them. The end of the trouble was a great relief to all. Another worry was the sudden disappearance of Hâshim ibn Hâzim. Though he commanded a thousand men he left his post and went north alone leaving every thing behind him - horses arms and money. He explained to the imam that his duty to god forced him to this action. At Sabya he changed his mind, went to Shahara, excused himself to the imam who accepted his explanations and sent him back to his post. He was a pious and learned man. At Mecca he had studied under Lutfalla ibn Raith and he came to Yemen to study the foundations of religion according to the tenets of the prophet's family. He also read law and the traditions. Perhaps he saw something in the camps that did not agree with the faithful following of religion. On his return the troops gave him a very hearty welcome.

The truce was extended to the end of IX. but the Turks broke it and attacked Sunbul unexpectedly, surprising him in his house. At first Hasan thought/

thought this was a feint but when he saw his error he hastened to join in the fray. The enemy were driven back after losing two hundred killed. This more than equalled another skirmish where the faithful had lost ninety killed and near two hundred wounded.

At last 1 II. 1045. peace was concluded for Zabid was at its last gasp. The imam overruled Hasan and insisted on terms being granted. Qansuh fled to Hasan who overwhelmed him with gifts as did the imam and he was allowed to go north with a hundred Turks escorted as far as Itwad by et Taqi ibn Ibrahim. Those left in Zabid were mostly Zaidi mutineers from Hashid and Bakil. They made Mustapha their commander. He went to Mocha, ostensibly to get funds to pay the soldiers; really because he was afraid of them. Then they agreed to surrender Mocha and Zabid on condition that those who wished might leave the country and Hasan would provide the necessary supplies. The faithful entered Mocha 15 VIII. and Zabid three days later. Kamaran was occupied 9 IX. and thus Yemen was freed from the Turks.

The chiefs who had fought for freedom died soon after it was won; Ahmed ibn 'Awwad el Asadi Mo. 21 IV. 1046; Hasan 2 I. 1048 and Husain 24 IV. 1050.

It/

It was too much to expect that Yemen would remain peaceful. A young firebrand Ahmed ibn Hasan ibn Qasim caused two disturbances. In VIII. 1049. he refused to obey Husain's orders and wished to obtain his father's province as his inheritance so he began a revolt in Wusâb. Husain in person marched against him and his evil counsellors were killed though he himself was treated generously. Then in IV. 1051. he provoked a rising in Khaulan and marched on Dhimar whither Ismail ibn Qasim followed him from Dauran. Night and heavy rain stopped them from fighting and Ahmed went to Radâ'. He lost heart and sent his women to Mus'ab el Qa'ifi for safe keeping. Long negotiations followed and at last Ismail attacked. The rebel fled towards Qa'taba but Ismail was before him so he fled to Mt. Khiyar after losing all his stores.

In III. 1052 Ali ibn Nâsir ibn Râjih rebelled; previously he had had something to do with Ahmed's rising in Wusâb. He was an important chief in Anis, had been offended by Hasan who had deprived him of the castle of Hurma that had belonged to his father and he lost his head because the imam showed him extraordinary consideration. He seized Hurma and called on the tribes to rise; and some of the lower/

lower class joined him. The faithful gathered from Daurân and Dhimâr, scattered his followers, captured the castle and his goods. The castle was dismantled and he fled; no one knows whither.

The sharif Husain ibn Ahmad lord of Sibra sent to the imam information based on a letter from Sibra of the date 12 II, 1037. The historian draws his facts from other correspondence also.

Ahmed pasha started for Yemen and his ship was already close to Sibra when it struck a reef, loosened several planks and sank. The pasha perished and perhaps forty others were hurled into a boat that was near though the crew, some merchants and three hundred soldiers were drowned. All the cargo was lost including fifteen hundred muskets, many swords and all the treasure. The officers of the sharif gave the pasha an honourable reception. The sharif sent him clothes, furniture and money from Mecca for he had nothing. The sharif also sent his son to escort the visitor to Mecca according to the custom of former pashas, but he refused to enter the city without his soldiers and waited for them. It was reported that a ship that had been sailing in Kharân sailed for Yatta and came with many troops on board. The pasha boasted himself of striking divers to

MECCA/

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to recover the arms and coin and the sharif gathered them from various ports. They could do nothing because the sharks were so fierce. It was hinted to the pasha that this pleased the sharif as he was only waiting for Ahmed's departure to salve the wreck to his own profit. Ahmed then insisted on waiting, even if he had to bring divers from Egypt, and refused the supplies of food sent from Mecca.

He sent his agent who called himself a sharif with letters to the sūfis in all the ports who replied that the land lay open to him and the tribes were waiting for him. They answered in this way in hope of what they could get. The agent met the pasha in Jidda and reported that the propagandist (the imam) had conquered the country as a result of Haider's behaviour but if Ahmed would come or even write to him demanding the usual homage, he would surrender the sultan's dominions and be content with his own. (This agent was drowned but his body was washed ashore).

Ahmed ordered Muhsin the sharif of Mecca to lend him fifty thousand ^{دينار} , also swords and muskets; threatening to kill Rājih governor of Jidda if their demands were not satisfied. On the advice of/

of his brethren he sent the arms and borrowed twenty thousand ^{دراهم} from merchants and sent them to Jidda; but Rajih had been already put to death because the answer was delayed. Then arms and money were taken back to Mecca. Ahmed proclaimed the deposition of the sharif and the traders promptly removed their wares from the bazaar. Ahmed was told he would only carry through his plan by appointing one of the family of Hasan. Ahmed ibn Abdulmuttalib was in Jidda so the pasha sent for him and asked - Where is Mas'ûd ibn Idrîs? He is far away - two months journey and you cannot bring him hither for Muhsin will kill him. Then the pasha said - You are suited to this task. Yes; I am Ahmed ibn Abdulmuttalib ibn Hasan and he is Mas'ûd ibn Idrîs ibn Hasan. Our grandfather was a sûfi and a sunni while Muhsin and his fellows are Râfidis and Zaidis; but for the watchfulness of my brethren they would have slain me. The pasha was pleased and at once the herald proclaimed that the land belonged to god, the sultan Murâd and the sharif Ahmed. With the property of Muhsin the pasha furnished for him the biggest house in Jidda, proclaimed his name from the pulpit and sent the news to Medina and Yanbu'. To Muhsin he wrote/

wrote that his treason was manifest in many ways; he had robbed the soldiers fugitives from Yemen; he had seized a government ship; he had taken the sultan's gifts to the sharifs and shared them with the poor; he had been lax in allowing the Banu Hasan to become highway robbers; he had corresponded with the imam, was secretly in sympathy with him and had sent Hâshim ibn Hâzim to fight against the sultan; and in many other ways. Therefore by the authority intrusted to him he deposed Muhsin and appointed Ahmed ibn Abdul-muttalib. Ahmed wrote to his brother Nâmi to hold Mecca in the event of Muhsin's leaving.

After the death of the pasha the soldiers chose Kikhia as his successor and swore allegiance to him. Ahmed was angry and persuaded the troops to murder their new leader. Muhsin had sent one of his officers towards Jidda and he was waiting till all his troops were collected but when he heard of the strife in the town he advanced. Many Turks came over to Muhsin and implored his forgiveness; he however sent them back to Jidda to betray their comrades. He then surrounded the town. Mas'ûd ibn Idrîs who had fled for his life and now by the good offices of friends had been reconciled to the sharif, was in the camp/

camp anxious to prove his pretended loyalty. The Turks threw up a rampart round the town but it was no higher than a man. Ahmed appointed as his minister Abu 'l qâsim el Murîsi who had been disgraced by Muhsin for his wickedness and extortion. He robbed the muslims in Jidda under pretexts of forced loans and fines; for the troops had to be paid and he had to find the money. It came to a battle outside the town and Muhsin was defeated, perhaps by the treachery of some sharifs, and retreated. His governor in Jidda seized a ship coming from Mocha with cannon and treasure and held it for his master. Another which Ahmed sent to Yemen foundered in a storm with all hands including two agas.

On 21. X. came news from the north. Ahmed advanced on Mecca where Muhsin opposed him a parasang from the town. There was little fighting for Mas'ûd had won over the sharifs and the mountaineers were frightened by the cannon. They did not gain by their cowardice for the Turks proclaimed that anyone might slay them at night. In answer to an appeal for help the imam sent Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Luqman from Saada by way of Sabya. He took with him five hundred musketeers/

musketeers including some of the men who came from Egypt with Rajab aga.

He reached Qunfuda from Hali ibn Ya'qûb on 8 I. 38. accompanied by the governor of Hali among others. They next moved to Dauqa where they heard that Ahmed ibn Abdulmuttalib was in Laith. He informed Zaid ibn Muhsin who joined him with a hundred and fifty horse who made such a brave show that he believed in their professions of zeal. They advanced to Laith, camped overnight and in the morning of 20 IV. began the battle. The horse however stood stock still and the Egyptians who had all along protested their loyalty to the imam, to the number of thirty went over to the enemy; first killing those who stood near them. The end was disaster. The cavalry galloped off; Ahmed knew no place to make a stand, so returned to Dauqa. In the fight his horse had been killed under him. The faithful lost all trust in the soldiers of the Tihama and retired to Qunfuda where Muhsin joined them with a hundred horse. The Turks pursued and Ahmed tried to make a stand. The natives were full of courage and asked for the post of honour in the van. Then they made a barricade of beds and couches and bolted at the first shot. Neither they nor the sharifs gave any need/

heed to Ahmed's exhortations though he would have charged the enemy alone had not his friends held him. He embarked all his ammunition and stores to send to Jazan but the natives betrayed the ship to the Turks. Even the chief of Qunfuda was in communication with the enemy.

N As the Turks entered the town Ahmed retired, to Hali, Shaqiq and Itwad. 4. VII. Muhsin met the imam at Uqr after a terrible journey. He had left all his property in Mecca and his friends did not let him enter the town after his defeat. Most of his camels died and food ran short till they were reduced to roasting the hooves of cattle. Twenty five sharifs followed him and two hundred slaves and women; the rest had been left in Itwad. He blamed the imam for his calamities and said openly he should have sided with the Turks. Notwithstanding the imam showed him all honour and sent him a present of eighteen camel-loads of maize, qishr, ghee, honey, bananas, sugar and wax, besides sheep. Shortly after Muhsin's brother Zain ul 'Abidin died in Maur on his way to, Itwad. The imam sent Muhsin a present for his children in Itwad; twenty six coats of satin, twenty six of muslin, five hundred Egyptian dirhems and a thousand dirhems of Sanaa. Muhsin was disgusted; I would have/

have given this to a slave! He decided to remove to Sanaa but died on the road Sun. 6 IX. and according to his wish was buried in Sanaa in the mausoleum by the gate Sabha.

The sharif Mu'âmis held Bisha as a fief from Muhsin. There dwelt there the son of a former governor, Nâsir ibn Dakhîl-alla who wished to make Bisha subject to Ahmed ibn Abdulmuttalib. The inhabitants listened to his proposals because Mu'âmis was tyrannical and his son Husain even worse.

Ahmed summoned Mu'âmis to acknowledge the Turks. He refused so Nasir was summoned to Mecca whence he returned with an army VI. 1038. Mu'âmis gathered his tribe with his soldiers and slaves and also wrote to the Thaqîf Hudhail and Banu Sa'd who promised to join him by a given date. Without waiting for this date the Turks defeated him which they could not have done if his allies had joined. He lost all his stores and saved only his flocks and herds. He fled to Bisha and Husain took the cattle into the desert where raiding and counter-raiding went on. Mu'âmis then sent to Shahara to ask the imam's support (middle of X.). The relieving force, consisting mostly of Turks with some sharifs from Jauf, united with the Banu Hajir to whom Husain had intrusted/

intrusted his cattle and entered Bîsha unresisted
 Sun. 22 XII. to find Mu'âmis dead. Nâsir and his
 Turks departed and most of the bedouin joined Husain.
 Peace was made with Nasir which disgusted the Hasâ-
 fila; yet after a well contested fight they were
 beaten their land ravaged and peace established.

On 20 IX. Mas'ûd ibn Idrîs arrived from
 Egypt at Yanbu' and was proclaimed governor under
 Qansuh there and at Medina. Ahmed at Mecca was hor-
 rified at this turn of affairs and the Turkish sold-
 iers forced him to give them a certificate that all
 that they had done had been by his orders. On his
 arrival in Mecca 4 I. 39. Qansuh laid hands on Ahmed
 and two other sharifs and sent them in chains to
 Kamaran. He executed fifteen Turks because they had
 plundered the goods of muslims. Mas'ûd was made sha-
 rif but a Turkish aga was made governor of Jidda; the
 sharif to receive one third of the revenue.

14 VII. Zaid ibn Muhsin entered Qunfuda and
 was welcomed by the populace. Fifty Turks who had
 killed their aga entered his service. He defeated
 the army sent against him by Mas'ûd and established
 his position. In VIII. a great storm burst over
 Mecca, flooding the town, drowning four hundred
 people and knocking down the north and west walls of
 the/

the Kaaba. 17 XI. Mas'ûd's troops attacked Zaid near Dauqa; the losses on both sides were nearly equal - about fifty - but the advantage rested with the sharif.

N Tu. 5 V. 1040. Mas'ûd died and his uncle Abdulla ibn Hasan succeeded him by the help of the governor of Jidda. Zaid then went to Qunfuda by agreement with the chief whom Mas'ûd had appointed and in VI. he entered Mecca; for the sharifs summoned him as they did not accept Abdulla. Finally the Turkish governor of the holy places agreed with them to recognize Zaid as sharif if he were content with one third of the revenues. In IX. he announced his success to the imam who congratulated him; the only thing to do.

On their way north the fugitive mutineers reached Mecca. The sharif tried to stop them at Qauz Wed. 26 VIII. 1041. but the sharifs ran away because he had insulted one of them. Perhaps also Nâmi ibn Abdulmuttalib was in correspondence with the fugitives and had corrupted Hudhail Thaqif and the sharifs. The Turks entered the town driving Zaid before them and though he performed prodigies of valour he had to retire to Wadi Fâtima. The total/

total casualties were about fifteen hundred including the governor of the holy places and Husain ibn Mu'âmis. The governor of Jidda then made terms with the mutineers. In VII. 1042. the sultan sent troops to assist Zaid and the mutineers were either killed in battle or captured and executed. Zaid's authority was then firmly established.

S O C I A L L I F E .

Famines are mentioned several times. From VIII. to XI. 1029 there was a severe famine in the east - Sanaa Kaukaban and Nihm - and people moved to the west to Haima Tais La'a and Hajja; where the scarcity was not so bad. Whole villages lay empty in Nihm Jauf and Saada. Ladies of rank who had been carefully secluded wandered unveiled, knocking at doors to beg a scanty alms and gathered grains of corn in the streets and lanes. Valuable arms and jewels were sold for an old song. The desert itself was bare of wild animals and sheep and, specially in Khaulan, the vines died. In Sanaa many corpses were carried to the grave on one bier. Most of them were found in the streets whither they had crawled in search of food. In addition to hunger the cause of mortality was a continuous fever, commonly called the sweating sickness. Death came in three or at the most twelve days.

In IX. 1045 a famine began in the west and reached its climax from I. to IV. 1046 when a Sanaa قمح of wheat cost two دينار or more. In the east there was food which was carried to the west and sold at exorbitant prices. Many sheep and cattle died of hunger/

hunger and thirst and whole villages in the Tihama were deserted.

In 1034 there was a bad plague of locusts which laid their eggs in the earth and ate up everything, vines wheat and barley but not the maize for there were only a few of them when it was planted. In Saada they made their way into the houses and shops unless doors and windows were kept shut. Near that town a sick man was smothered by them and eaten and a girl suffered the same fate.

There are many references to shipwrecks in the red sea. Off Shihr a hurricane sank thirty ships big and little, trading to India and also destroyed two houses in the town. In this calamity the historian sees the hand of providence for the ships would have returned to Mocha and enriched the Turks. In 1038 an English ship of twelve guns came to Aden. It had been one of a fleet of four but they were separated by storms and it was supposed the others had perished. Out of a crew of fifty only ten were alive and they had lost their teeth from scurvy. They ascribed their sickness to bad drinking water taken from a well in foreign parts.

The soldiers were addicted to tobacco so the imam forbade its use. Some in Yafri paid no heed/

heed to this prohibition and one wished to buy a pipe bowl. Another wanted the same and the bidding was fast and reckless. At last one man drew his sword and the bystanders interfered to prevent bloodshed. Hasan ibn Qasim had all tobacco burnt in the streets and issued an edict:- Whoso sells or uses tobacco does so at his own risk.

When Sunbul entered the service of the imam a qadi was attached to his staff to instruct him in the principles of true religion. This man turned many to the true faith. Muayyadbilla gave a commission to a lawyer to travel through the land teaching the canonical prayers to the women and ignorant persons generally. He also had extraordinary judicial authority.

The imam Qasim heard that a harlot was travelling round Ahnum with some ruffians of that district. For a large sum of money one of them turned king's evidence and the woman was captured. First she was beaten with a hundred stripes and then she confessed that she had been an honest woman. A pit was dug; to the sound of trumpets, the woman was dragged thither before all the people; and the imam commanded to stone her, himself throwing the first stone.

Most/

Most of them missed her so the imam ordered a servant to end her misery.

Qasim was buried at the east side of the mosque in Shahara. A great dome was built over his tomb and his son placed there a beautiful cenotaph, carved and adorned with silver; there was none finer save that of Ali ibn Musa er-Rida. Qasim had ordered that his tomb should not be made a chapel; perhaps out of humility. The graves of several men who died at this time became places of pilgrimage; among them Ahmed ibn Musa ibn Muqbil el 'Adnani el Birari es Saadi. He had been devoted to the family of the prophet, spent himself in their service and journeyed to obscure villages to secure them their rights. The Banu Hashim came to him as a bird flies to its nest. If he saw two men quarrelling he thrust himself between them to make peace. He did homage to the imams Hasan and Qasim, becoming qadi of Saada under the second. He stayed at his post even under Turkish rule and put his trust in God when friends tried to frighten him from his station. The cemetery round the grave of Hasan en Nahawi in Sanaa was a favourite burial ground. Several times mention is made of the translation of the remains of famous men from/

from one burial place to another.

It is a wellknown custom for a suppliant to sacrifice an animal before the man from whom he hopes to receive relief and it is mentioned several times in this history. Twice in great need, a mare is thus immolated; by Abdurabb asking for help from Hamdan just before his submission to the imam; and by Yahya el Mikhlafi in Khaulan Sanaa.

The people of Sharaf were wont to offer sacrifices in VII. The imam forbade this for it was unlawful; it resembled too closely the sacrifices offered in the same month in the time of ignorance.

N They were called غيرة .

After the disturbances in Saada X. 1031. the imam ordered Ahmed to lead the public mourning for the dead of both factions; reminding him that a better than he had done this for worse men than those.

N After the conquest of Rgaima usury and the oppression of women orphans and the poor were abolish-
ed. Now this oppression was because they agreed that a woman could not inherit but received one tenth of the value of the heritage. This they call عشر
They were only acquainted with the widow's eighth. They agreed that the mahr returned to the woman's relatives, father, brother, paternal uncle or his son/

son; the husband did not share in it. They allowed the relatives to sell the property of one of the family though he was alive and his whereabouts known. Their lawyers allowed that if a man showed a document recording a debt and his claim was disputed he could take an oath and the debt. They praised god when canon law was taught them.

Superstitions were rife and ignorant and learned alike attached great importance to dreams. Three days after the death of Mansur billa a lawyer dreamed that with some companions he saw a short white snake that crawled in and out of a hole, muttering like a man. He threw a stone at it but missed. Said the snake:- But for the stones of their land the snakes of Mana' had eaten you. What do we hear? It is speaking! (ينبع)

Yes, Mana' is the root yanbu'.

I adjured the snake by a mighty oath in the name of majesty and it said:- Spirits and men have spoken of the kingdom of Muayyad billa.

A poem written shortly before Hasan's escape from captivity was regarded as an omen of his deliverance.

In the course of the history there have been many cases of turncoats in high places. The imams' /

imams' leniency towards such was not entirely due to their being too powerful to be punished; as this story shows. A poet, Rafîr by name, was a client of 'Amir ibn Ali and acted as his secretary. As his sympathies were with the Turks he went over to them and spread scurrilous stories about the imam who vowed vengeance. But Rafîr kept close under the protection of his new masters. During the siege of Sanaa he went to Rauda and sought refuge with Husain and Ahmed who received him graciously. There he composed many poems in honour of the imam and others. One contained a list of nearly all the battles in the holy war.

N A visitor from Fez on his way to Mecca, the sayyid Tahir ibn Abdulla of the family of Shakrulla descendants of the imam Idris visited Yemen specially to meet Hashim ibn Hazim. From an account of this visit written by Muayyad billa it appears that Tahir was a man of considerable learning whose faith closely resembled that of former imams in Yemen. He was greatly interested in Zaidi literature and was given copies of several books: Sections with its marginal notes, Fruits, Foundation and its commentary, Judgments, Roots of Judgments and some Letters. The Aga Rajab also showed great zeal for Zaidi literature and/

and studied the commentary on the Book of Epigrams and others. Other books mentioned are Tadhkirat of Hasan en Nahawi, et Tajrid of Muayyad billa and the Traditions of Hadi. Dawud ibn Hadi ibn Ahmed (who is possibly the Dawud ibn Ahmed of Ahl. 4910), wrote a commentary on Foundation, another on the Canon of the imam Mahdi and the Pure Commentary. The كتاب الجفر is a work on eschatology telling of those who should rule till the coming of Jesus. It claimed to have been the property of Muhammad ibn ul Hanafiya and to be an heirloom in the prophet's family.

Some of these books may be identified -

Judgments	by El Hadi Yahyad	الاحكام
Foundation	by Mansur billa Qasim.	الاساس
Sections ?	by Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ibn Abdulla el Hadawi died 914.	الفصول اللؤلؤية
Fruits	by Yahya ibn Shamsuddin ibn Ahmed ibn Yahya ibn Murtada died 965.	الثمار كتاب
Tajrid	by Muayyad billa Ahmed ibn Husain ibn Harun d. 411.	التجريد
Epigrams	by Ahmed ibn Yahya ibn Murtada d.840 The full title is	نكت الفرائد في معرفة الملل الواحد
Canon	? same author	المعيار

One of his sermons may be the خطبة البحر and he was the author of many letters.

Their studies were not confined to Zaidi literature. Abdulhadi ibn Ahmed of Thila was an authority/

authority on the Mu'tazila without impairing the force of his convictions. He was judge in Sanaa under Muayyad billa.